THE HOUSE OF LORDS
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THE WARS IN ENGLAND, Scotland *and* Ireland.

OR

An Impartial Account of all the *Battels*, *Sieges*, and other Remarkable *Transactions*, *Revolutions* and *Accidents*, which have heppened from the beginning of the Reign of King *CHARLES* I. in 1625, to His Majesties happy Restauration, 1660.

Illustrated with Pictures of some Considerable matters curiously Ingraven on Copper Plates.

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WARS

TO THE
READER.

THis ſmall Volume is intended for the uſe of thoſe who cannot go to the price of a greater, and yet would willingly be informed of thoſe wonderful Tranſactions and Revolutions which have happened in theſe Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in this laſt Age, and within the memory of many now living; And though it cannot be expected that a large Account of every particular Accident can be comprehended in this little Compendium, yet I have endeavoured, without the leaſt paſſion or partiality, briefly to compriſe the moſt conſiderable Matters.

Now as the Things here inſerted are more remarkable, both for their Variety and Quality, than it may be ever happened at any time heretofore in ſo ſhort a ſpace; ſo the ſerious peruſal and conſideration thereof may be very uſeful and neceſſary for quieting the preſent Diſcontents and deplorable Diſtractions that are now amongſt us; ſince theſe were the Forerunners of thoſe miſerable Wars, Ruins, and Deſolations which are herein related; wherein all Bonds of Religion, Alliance and Friend-

ſhip, were utterly deſtroyed. Wherin Fathers and Children, Kindred and Acquaintance, became unnatural Enemies to each other; ſo that with ſome little Variation we may apply what Lucan *writes of the Civil Wars of* Rome *to* England *in thoſe times,*

Wars more than Civil on the *Britiſh* Plains
Then happened; and *England* Diſtains
In her own Bowels her Victorious Swords;
Where Kindred Hoſts Encounter, all Accords
Of Empire broke; where arm'd to Impious War,
The ſtrength of all the ſhaken Land from far
Is met; known Enſigns, Enſigns do deſie,
Fathers by Sons, and Sons by Fathers die.
What fury Countrey-men, what madneſs cou'd
Move you to feaſt your Foes with *Engliſh* Blood,
And chuſe ſuch Wars as could no Triumphs yield
Whilſt yet proud *Babylon* unconquer'd held.
Alas what ſeas, what lands might you have ta'ne,
With that bloods loſs, which your own hands have drawn.

Let us all therefore who pretend to the name of Chriſtians, ſtudy to be quiet, and follow Peace with all men; *which is the moſt Effectual means to prevent thoſe Confuſions and Miſeries which we have lately ſuffered, and under the effects whereof we ſtill groan: and that this ſhort Narrative may be uſeful to this purpoſe, is the earneſt and hearty deſire of*

Your Countrey-man and Well-wiſher

RICHARD BURTON.

THE WARS IN *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

BEfore we proceed to give an Account of thoſe Unnatural Wars, Ruins, and Devaſtations, which have happened in theſe Kingdoms in this Laſt Age, it may ſeem neceſſary, by way of Introduction, to give a Relation of ſeveral previous Tranſactions before theſe Woful Calamities befel us.

Upon the 27th. day of *March*, in the year 1625, King *James* departed this life at *Theobalds* in the Fifty ninth year of his Age, when he had reigned Twenty two years compleat: And in the Afternoon of the ſame day *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, his only Son then living, was proclaimed

King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*.

The first thing he did, was performing the Ceremonies of his Fathers Funeral, in which the King himself, in person followed as chief Mourner immediately after the Herle; having his Train of black Velvet born up by the Twelve Peers of the Realm; at his right hand the Earl of *Arundel*, and at his left the Earl of *Pembroke*. He then proceeded to his Coronation, and after that he consummated the Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter of the Great *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, whom he had formerly seen in his Journey through that Countrey into *Spain*; his first Complement to her, when he went to meet her at *Dover*, was, *That he desired to be no longer Master of himself, then he was Servant to her*; which indeed he made good: for on the day before his deplorable death, he desired his Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to assure her Mother, if ever he saw her again, *That his Thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his Affections should be the same to the last.*

The King then called a Parliament, which Assembled the Eighteenth of *June* following, to whom he represented in a short Speech, 'The urgent necessity of raising a Subsidy, since it would 'not agree with his Kingly honour to shrink from 'the War with *Spain*, which his Father upon solid 'Considerations had by consent of both Houses undertaken; although prevented by death from 'putting it in Execution: That Money, the sinews 'of War must be levied, without which neither 'Army nor Fleet could move; former Contributions being already disbursed to a penny: That he 'should seem ridiculous to all *Europe*, if he did not 'how at length proceed to Action: That it was his

first

'first Enterprize, the success whereof would have 'influence upon his following Reign: That it 'concerned their own Reputations herein to Assist 'him effectually, least the world should judge 'them to have betray'd their King: That Celeri-'ty was necessary because of Winter then ap-'proaching, a season prejudicial to Martial At-'tempts: the Pestilence at that time Reigning in 'the City, which in all probability might cause a 'sudden Dissolution of their Meeting: All which 'Arguments, if duly considered, did evidently de-'monstrate, That it was most Honourable, Op-'portune and safe, to use Expedition in the busi-'ness. As for Religion and Manner of Govern-'ment, he was resolved to tread in his Fathers 'steps, hoping that his former life had ministred 'no just grounds for them to suspect the contrary.

The Parliament acknowledged these Arguments for a Subsidy to be very rational, but yet would not suddenly resolve upon it, till they had first presented their two Petitions, concerning Reasons of Religion and Complaint of their Sufferings, which points had been offered to his Father King *James*, in the close of his last Parliament, and by his death were left hitherto unanswered.

In both which they received competent satisfaction, and likewise an account of the Arrears which were due to the Forces both by Sea and Land, together with an Estimate of the future Charge and Expence of the *Spanish* War; upon which the King obtained of the Laity freely and absolutely, Two Subsidies to be paid by Protestants, and four from Papists; and three Subsidies from the Clergy. In this Parliament Dr. *Montague* the Kings Chaplain was questioned for certain Tenets in his Answer to a Book called the *Romish Gag-*

ger and his defence thereof; Intituled *Appello ad Cæsarem*: And he being brought before the Bar of the House, the Speaker declared their pleasure; *That they would refer his Censure till the next meeting, and in the mean time he should stand committed to the Serjeants Ward, till Two Thousand Pound Bail could be procured for his appearance next Sessions*: And though the King took him into Protection, as his Servant, yet his Bail-bond remained uncancelled.

Divers Laws were Enacted in this Parliament, as one *about Observation of the Lords day*; another *for restraint of Tipling in Inns, Alehouses*, &c. These passed likewise in the House of Commons, *A Bill for Tunnage and Poundage*; but this miscarried in the House of Lords, because the Commons had limited it to a year, whereas it was formerly granted to the Kings Predecessors during their lives; it being intended to reduce the Customs to the Rate, at which they were settled in the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

During the sitting of the Parliament, the Lord *Mordant* a Papist, and his Wife a Protestant, being both desirous of each others Conversion, they put their cause upon a dispute between *James Usher* L. Archbishop of *Amargh*, and one *Rookwood* a Jesuite, who called himself *Beaumont*; this was acted at *Drayton* in *Northamptonshire*, the points disputed on were, *Transubstantiation, Praying to Saints, Images, and the Visibility of the Church*; wherein the Learned Primate so foil'd his Adversary, that the Lord *Mordant* was Convinced and Converted to the *Protestant Religion*, and his Lady further confirmed therein.

On the Eleventh of *July*, 1626, the Parliament by reason of the sickness, Adjourned till *August* 1. and then met again at *Oxford*, where the King first by

by himself, and next by his two Secretaries, the Lord *Conway* and Sir *John Cook*, declared to them the necessity of setting forth a Fleet, for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was the Countrey of the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, who married the Kings Sister, and was then unjustly detained from him by the Emperour of *Germany*, and the King of *Spain*; the Lord Treasurer likewise instanced the several Sums of Money, which King *James* died indebted to the City of *London*.

This occasioned very warm Debates in the House of Commons, who alledged, *That evil Councels guided the Kings Designs; That the Treasury was misimployed, That our necessities arose through Improvidence: That it would be necessary to Petition the King for a stricter hand and better Councel to manage his Affairs: That though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War, yet if things were managed with Contrary designs; and the Treasure misimployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Designs, not guided by sound Councel: That it was not usual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies in one Parliament, and no Grievances redressed.* With several other Passages of the like Nature.

They likewise very much reflected upon the miscarriages of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was then a person of very considerable Trust: but however they promised to consider of the Kings desires, and presented him a Petition against *Popish* Recusants, giving an Account of their damage, ascribing certain Causes of their growth, and offering divers Remedies thereunto; unto which a satisfactory Answer (if any thing would have satisfied) was returned: And hereupon there followed a Debate about Supplies; some were for contributing presently, others demurr'd, as disliking the design in hand;

hand; and in concluſion the Major part agreed not to give: And being incenſed againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, they began to think of diveſting him of his Offices, and to require an Account of the Publick Moneys wherewith he had been intruſted all; which they intended to include in an humble Remonſtrance: to prevent which, the King reſolved to Diſſolve the Parliament; and accordingly the Uſher of the Black Rod was ſent from the Houſe of Lords to the Commons, who were then reſolved into a Grand Committee; and underſtanding the Kings pleaſure, they cauſed the Speaker to keep his Seat, while they agreed upon a Meſſage of Thanks to his Majeſty for his Gracious Anſwer to their Petition for Religion, and for his care of their Health, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous time of Sickneſs; with a dutiful Declaration of their Affection and Loyalty, and of their purpoſing to ſupply him in a Parliamtary way, in fit and convenient time: After which they were accordingly diſſolved.

Now the War with *Spain* being intended both for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, and to prevent diſturbance in our Civil Eſtate, the Councel hereupon reſolve with all ſpeed to ſet forth a Fleet, and to preſerve ſtrict Unity and Peace with *France*, *Denmark*, and the *united Provinces*, and with the *Hollanders* the King had already entered into a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and likewiſe had promiſed to aſſiſt them in ſoliciting other Princes to enter into the ſame Confederation, upon Condition that they ſhould bear a Fourth part of the Charge of the Fleet; and in purſuance hereof, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* were ſent to the *Hague*, and there meeting with the Ambaſſadors of *France*

and

and *Denmark*, they concluded a League for reſtoring the Liberties of *Germany*; the two laſt Ambaſſadors having no further power from their Supreams.

A while after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the King publiſhed a Proclamation, Commanding the return of all Children of Noble-men, which had been ſent to be Educated in *Seminaries* and *Popiſh* Schools beyond Sea; that none who had received Orders from *Rome*, ſhould preſume to confer Orders, or Exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions in any of his Dominions; and likewiſe that the Statute be put in Execution for the departure of Prieſts and Jeſuites, out of his Majeſties Dominions.

By reaſon of the Diſſolving the Parliament, the *Act of Subſidies* was prevented, and the King was neceſſitated to take up Money upon *Loan* of ſuch Perſons as were of Ability to lend; and to that end he directed his Letters to the Lord Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, *To return the Names of thoſe Men whom they thought moſt ſufficient, The places of their Habitations, and what Sums each might be judged able to lend*; and to the perſons returned, Letters were Iſſued forth in the Kings Name to this purpoſe,

That his Majeſty having obſerved in the Preſidents and Cuſtoms of former times, That all the Kings and Queens of this Realm, upon extraordinary occaſions have uſed either to reſort to thoſe Contributions which ariſe from the generality of Subjects, or to the private helps of ſome well affected in particular, *by way of* Loan; *in the former of which, as his Majeſty has no doubt in the Love and affection of his People, when they ſhall again Aſſemble in Parliament; ſo for the preſent he was inforced to proceed in the latter courſe for ſupply of ſome Portions of Treaſure for divers publick Services*,

Services, which without manifold Inconveniences to his Majesty, and his Kingdoms cannot be defer'd: and therefore this being the first time that his Majesty hath required any thing of this kind, he doubts not but he shall receive such a Testimony of good affection from them among other of his Subjects, and that with such alacrity and readiness as may make the same so much the more acceptable; especially since his Majesty required but the Sum which few men would deny a Friend, and has a mind resolved to expose all his Earthly Fortune for Preservation of the General: The Sum which His Majesty requires by these presents is———— *which His Majesty promiseth in the Name of himself, his Heirs, and Successors, to repay to them or their Assigns, within Eighteen Months after the payment thereof to the Collector: The Person whom his Majesty hath appointed is———— to whose* hands his Majesty doth require them to send it *within Twelve days after they have received this Privy Seal; which together with the Collectors Acquittance, shall be sufficient Warrant to the Officers of Receipt for their payment thereof at the time limited: And the Collectors of the Loan* were ordered to pay the Sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the Names of such as were about to delay or excuse the Payment of the Sums required.

And now about the beginning of *October* the Fleet set to Sea, the Lord *Cecill*, second Son to the Earl of *Exeter*, commanding the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* being Vice Admiral at Sea; but they were surprized by so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of the Navy, which in all made up Fourscore Ships (some being *Dutch*) were dissipated and scattered for seven dayes together, and an excellent Ship with an 170 Passengers in her, were all cast away, and lost; the

the Deſign was to have ſurprized *Cadiz* in *Spain*, to burn the Ships in the Harbour, and to have taken the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet, which was daily expected from the *Indies*; but by reaſon of the Plague amongſt them, and ſome other miſcarriages of the Commanders, the buſineſs was wholly diſappointed, and the Fleet returned home but four days before the Plate Fleet came.

Upon the Second of *February* was the Coronation, at which the King did not paſs through the City in State from the *Tower*, as was uſual, but went by Water from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter*, for fear of the danger of a Concourſe of People; the Peſtilence which raged the year before not being quite ceaſed: The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, ſhould have performed the chief part of the Ceremony, but being under diſpleaſure, Dr. *Laud*, then Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſupplied his place.

Divers conſiderable Forces had been raiſed both for Sea and Land, for the better Diſcipline of whom, 150 old Souldiers were ſent for from the *Netherlands*, by whoſe Induſtry they were brought into ſome good order againſt the meeting of the next Parliament, which was ſummoned to ſit *Feb.* 6. And being met accordingly, the Houſe of Commons choſe Sir *Henage Finch* for their Speaker.

The firſt buſineſs they inſiſted upon, was the rendring thanks to the King for his gracious Anſwer to their late Petition concerning Religion, then they debated of the Publick Grievances, *viz.* The miſcarrying of the Fleet at *Cadiz*; the evil Counſellors about the King; miſimploying the Kings Revenue; an Account of the Subſidies and three Fifteens, granted in the 21 Year of King *James*: And in the Committee of Grievances, theſe four particulars were inſiſted on: 1. The ſtate of the

King

King in the constant Revenue of the Crown, and how much it had been diminished by Gifts of Lands, Grants of Pensions, Fruitless Embassies, the Privy Purse, and other ways. 2. The Condition of the Subject in his Freedom, about laying new impositions, multiplying Monopolies, Leuying of Customs without Act of Parliament, and wasting the Treasure. 3. The Cause of the Nations good success in former times, whereby it was feared, Victorious and Renowned abroad; which they judged was occasioned by the Wisdom and Gravity of Counsel, who ordered nothing but by publick Debate; whereby there arose a readiness in the People to Assist their Soveraign in Purse and Person. 4. The present Condition of the Kingdom, wherein was represented the loss of its wonted Reputation, through the ill success at *Algier* in the *Palatinate*, in Count *Mansfelds* Expedition, and at *Cadiz*; and this was imputed to the want of such Counsels as were formerly used; since for fear of not succeeding, men were now afraid of venturing either there Persons or Purses.

There was likewise a Committe concerning Religion and the growth of Popery, wherein Mr. *Richard Montagues* two Books before mentioned were again questioned, and Articles drawn up against him, charging him with several Passages for encouraging Popery, and drawing his Majesties Subjects from the true Religion Established into Error and Superstition, with other passages dishonourable to the late King, and full of injurious and railing Language against other Persons; as likewise that he endeavoured to raise Factions in the Kingdom, by casting the scandalous Name of *Puritan*, upon such of his Majesties Subjects as conformed themselves to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*:

England; upon which the Houſe of Commons ordered that he ſhould be brought to Exemplary Puniſhment, and to have his Books burnt; nor do we find that he ever made any Defence or Anſwer to thoſe Articles that were brought againſt him: It is affirmed that a while before the ſitting of the Parliament, Dr. *Laud* underſtanding from the D. of *Buckingham* that the King intended to leave Mr. *Montague* to a Tryal, was heard to utter theſe words, *I ſeem to ſee a Cloud ariſing and threatning the Church of* England, *God in his Mercy diſſipate it.*

After this the Commons queſtioned ſeveral perſons who were of the Council of War, upon the Affairs of the *Palatinate*, concerning the management of that buſineſs, complaint was likewiſe made in the Houſe of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Nobility, for claiming precedency of the Peers of *England*, of which redreſs was promiſed; but a while after the Lord *Martrevers*, Eldeſt Son and Heir to the Earl of *Arundel*, Married the Daughter of the late Duke of *Lenox*, contrary to the Kings Mind, who intended her for the Lord *Lorn*, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Argile*; whereupon the Earl of *Arundel* was committed to the *Tower*; which upon the Peers Petitioned to the King, alledging, *That no Peer ſitting in the Parliament, is to be impriſoned without Order from the Houſe of Lords, unleſs for Felony, Treaſon, or denying to give ſecurity for the Peace.* Upon this there aroſe a Diſpute, which laſted for the ſpace of two Months, and then the Earl was ſet at Liberty.

In which time the Houſe of Commons were very buſie in ſearching the *Signet Office*, for the Original of a Letter under the *Signet*, written to the Mayor of *York*, for reprieving divers Jeſuites, Prieſts, and other *Popiſh* Recuſants: This was reported by Mr.

Pim

Pim Chairman to the Committee for Religion, but their proceedings therein were interrupted by a Meſſage from the King, ſent by Sr. *Richard Weſton*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, demanding a ſupply for the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh Forces*. This was ſo highly reſented, that Mr. *Clement Cook*, one of the Members openly Proteſted, *That it was better to die by a Forreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home*: And Dr. *Turner* another of the Houſe ſeconded him with theſe Queries.

1. *Whether the King had not loſt the Regality of the Narrow Seas ſince the D. of* Buckingham *was Admiral?* 2. *whether his going as Admiral in this laſt Fleet, was not the cauſe of its ill Succeſs, and return without any conſiderable Action?* 3. *whether the Kings Treaſure hath not been impaired by the Dukes Immenſe Liberality?* 4. *whether he hath not Ingroſſed all Offices, and preferr'd his Kindred to moſt places?* 5. *whether he hath not ſold places of Judicature?* 6. *Whether* Popiſh *Recuſants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father in Law.*

Theſe bold Expreſſions ſo provoked the King, that he immediately ſent Sir *Richard Weſton* to demand Satisfaction of the Houſe of Commons, whereupon Dr. *Turner* preſently after made a Speech in Vindication, and for explaining himſelf, alledging, *That what he had ſaid was for the good of the Kingdom, and not reflecting upon any one in particular. That to accuſe upon common Fame, he thought to be a Parliamentary way, and warranted by the Canons of the Church, the* Imperial *Laws, and by Ancient Preſidents. The Duke of* Suffolk *in King* Hen. *the Sixt's time, having been accuſed upon Common Fame. He added likewiſe, That Mr.* Chancellor *himſelf had preſented ſome perſons upon particular Fame, and that he knew no reaſon why himſelf might not in that place have as ample*

ample Priviledge; and the further debate of the matter being referr'd till another time, Dr. *Turner* in the mean ſpace writ a Letter to the Speaker to excuſe his abſence, by reaſon of ſome Indiſpoſition, and to ſignify his deſire of putting himſelf wholly upon the Judgment and Cenſure of Parliament.

Sir *William Waller*, ſpeaking his Opinion concerning Grievances, ſaid, *That the True Cauſe of them, was, becauſe* (as was ſaid of Lewes *the* 11th *of* France) *all the Kings Councill Rode upon one Horſe*, And that therefore His Majeſty was to be adviſed, as *Moſes* was by *Jethro*, to make choice of Councellors, to aſſiſt him that ſhould be thus qualified: 1. *Noble*, not Upſtarts, and of a Nights Growth. 2. *Men of Courage*, ſuch as would execute their own places, and not commit them to undeſerving Deputies. 3. *Fearing God*, not inclining to falſe Worſhip or halting between two Opinions. 4. *Dealing truly*, not given to Flattery, or favouring Courtſhip; but ſuch as might be ſafely truſted by the King and Kingdom. 5. *Hating Covetouſneſs*, not ſuch as lived upon other Mens Means, or that would take Bribes, or ſell places in Church or State, or about the King. 6. *To be many, in the multitude of Councellors there being ſafety.* 7. To judg of ſmall matters as well as great (the greateſt being to be referr'd to the King) much leſs any one Councellor alone to manage all buſineſs. 8. *Elders*, not young and unexperienced Men, through whoſe raſh and unadviſed proceedings, great Deſigns many times miſcarry.

And herein he was ſeconded by Sr. *John Eliot*, who repreſented to the Houſe, The preſent State of the Kingdom, and the great diſhonour the King and Kingdom had ſuſtained by ſeveral miſcarriages,

and

and ill management of Matters of the higheſt Truſt; he likewiſe mentioned Two Preſidents, the firſt in the 16 year of *Hen.* 3. when the Parliament denied the Subſidies demanded till the great Officers were Examined; and *Hugh de Burg* being found guilty of Corruption was diſplaced. Another Example was in the 10th year of *Rich.* 2. when Supply was required, and the Commons complaining that the Earl of *Suffolk* then over-ruled all, they returned Anſwer, *That they could not give.*

But notwithſtanding theſe Diſcourſes, the Commons taking the Kings Neceſſities into Conſideration, Voted Three Subſidies, and Three Fifteens, and that the Bill ſhould be brought in, as ſoon as the Grievances which were repreſented, were redreſſed. They likewiſe conſidered of the matter of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the miſimploying the Revenue; and ordered that the Duke ſhould again have notice of their Intentions therein: But the King obſerving they did not make ſuch haſt as he expected, to anſwer his laſt Meſſage, ſummons both Houſes together; and by the Lord Keeper complains to them, 'For not puniſhing Dr. *Turner*, and Mr. *Cook*, and likewiſe for 'ſearching his Signet Office, and alſo juſtified the 'D. of *Buckingham* to have acted nothing of Publick Imployment without his Special Warrant, 'and therefore forbid them to concern themſelves 'any further therein. as looking upon it to be 'Libelling his own Government; laſtly he blamed 'them for being too ſparing in the matter of Supply, and for ordering the Bill not to be brought 'in till their Grievances were heard and anſwered, 'which he would not admit of. This was the ſubſtance of the Lord Keepers Speech, to which the King himſelf added,

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He muſt alſo put them in mind that his Father moved by their Counſel and won by their Perſwaſions, broke the Treaties; and that he himſelf was their Inſtrument towards his Father, and was glad to be Inſtrumental in any thing which might pleaſe the whole Body of the Realm, nor was there any then in greater Favour than the Duke, whom they now traduced; but that now finding him ſo far intangled in a War, that he could make no honourable nor ſafe Retreat, they made neceſſity their Priviledge, and ſet what rate they pleaſed upon their Supplies, a Practiſe not very obliging *towards Kings: and whereas Mr.* Cook *told them*, That it was better for them to die by a Forreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home: *Indeed he thought it to be more Honourable for a King to be Invaded, and almoſt deſtroyed by a Forreign Enemy, than to be deſpiſed at home.*

After this, at a Conference of both Houſes in the Painted Chamber, the Duke of *Buckingham* was commanded by the King, to explain ſome Expreſſions in the Kings and the Lord Chancellors Speeches, which might be ſubject to miſunderſtanding, which the Duke performed accordingly, and then gave a large Account of his Negotiation in the *Low Countreys*; as ſoon as the Duke had ended, the Lord *Conway* diſcourſed of the Treaties of *Denmark* and *France*, and the buſineſs of the Navy, and affirmed they were not done by ſingle Councel, ſince King *James* himſelf commanded it.

The Commons in Anſwer to the Kings laſt Speech, preſented him with a Remonſtrance to this purpoſe; *That they gratefully acknowledged His Majeſties Expreſſions of Affection to his People and Parliament, That they had taken Mr.* Cooks *and Dr.* Turners *words into Conſideration, and might have*

have given a good Account thereof by this time, if his Majesties Message had not interrupted them; That they had the Presidents of former Parliaments for searching the Letters of his Majesty and his Secretary of State, the Signet Office, and other Records, upon the like occasions. That it was the unquestionable Priviledge of Parliaments to complain of any Person of any degree, and their proceedings in relation to the Duke should not prejudice either Crown or Kingdom: That they were willing to Supply his Necessities Liberally and Faithfully, if Additions might be made of other things which concerned his Service, and were now in Consultation among them.

His Majesty having received it, returned this short Answer thereunto, *That he would have them in the first place, Consult about Matters of the greatest Importance, and that they should have time enough for other things afterward.*

This happened in the year 1625, and in the Second Year of his Majesties Reign; about which time the Earl of *Bristoll* (being ordered by the King to be Examined by a Committee of Lords, concerning his Negotiation in *Spain*, and having been in Prison and prohibited access to His Majesty ever since his return) received a Letter from the Lord *Conway*, wherein, in order to his Relief he propounded to him from His Majesty this Choice, *Whether he would be quiet, and not be questioned for what was past, and enjoy the benefit of the late Gracious Pardon? or whether he would stand upon his Justification?* To which he Answered, *That he did humbly acknowledge and accept of his Majesties Grace and Favour*; And at the same time he Petitioned the House of Lords for his Liberty, or to come to a Tryal; who applying themselves to his Majesty, he granted a Writ for the Earls coming to Parliament,

ment, but with a Proviſo, That his Perſonal Attendance ſhould be forborn; whereupon the Earl ſent another Petition to the Lords that he might be heard, both as to his Reſtraint, and of what he had to ſay againſt the Duke. At which the King was much concerned, and ſignified to the Lords, *That it was his Royal Pleaſure, that the Earl of Briſtol might be ſent for as a Delinquent to anſwer his Offences to the Houſe, and his ſcandalizing the Duke of Buckingham and his Majeſty likewiſe by Reflection.*

Upon this the Earl was accordingly brought to the Bar, and being ready to be impeached of High Treaſon by the Attorney General, he beſought their Lordſhips, *That as he was a Freeman and Peer of this Realm untainted, and had ſomething to ſay of high Conſequence for his Majeſties Service, he might have liberty to ſpeak.* Which being granted him, he ſaid, *I accuſe that Man the Duke of* Buckingham *of High Treaſon.* This unexpected proceeding of the Earl, occaſioned the Attorney General to draw up a Charge againſt him, conſiſting of Eleven Articles containing Matters of divers Natures; whereupon the Earl afterwards gave a large Account of the Duke of *Buckinghams* proceedings towards him, and then preferr'd Twelve Articles againſt him; and beſides theſe Articles againſt the Duke, the Earl of *Briſtol* exhibited Eleven others againſt the Lord *Conway*: the Earl likewiſe gave in his Anſwer to each particular Article of his Impeachment.

Now whilſt theſe two Peers were thus contending, the Houſe of Commons preferred an Impeachment to the Lords againſt the Duke, conſiſting of Twelve Articles, to each of which the Duke made Replies, and the laſt of them being a matter of general Diſcourſe, it may ſeem neceſſary to inſert

fert it, with the Dukes Anſwer thereto.

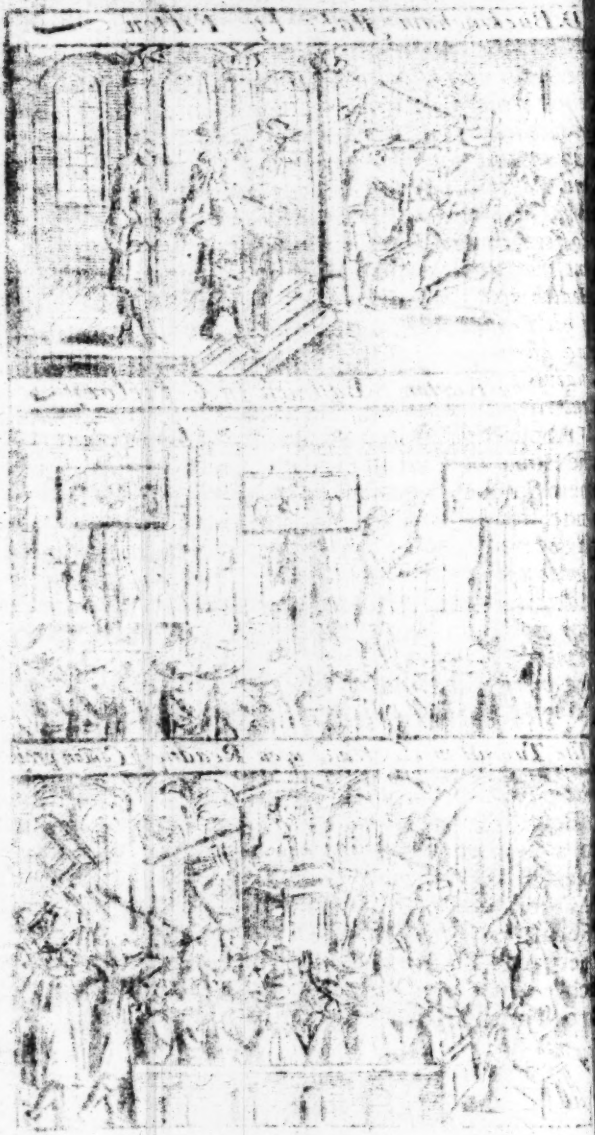
'That the Duke being a Sworn Servant of the 'the late King, did cauſe and provide certain Plai-'ſters and Potions for his late Majeſty K. *James* in 'in his laſt Sickneſs without the Privity of his Maje-'ſties Phyſicians, and that although thoſe Plaiſters 'and Potions formerly applied, produced ſuch ill 'Effects, as many of his Sworn Phyſicians did diſ-'allow, as prejudicial to his Majeſties Health, yet 'the Duke did apply them again to his Majeſty; 'whereupon great Diſtempers, and dangerous 'Symptoms appeared in him, which the Phyſici-'ans imputed to thoſe Adminiſtrations of the Duke, 'whereof his late Majeſty alſo complained: which 'is an Offence and Miſdemeanor of ſo high a Na-'ture as may be called an Act of Tranſcendent 'Preſumption: And the ſaid Commons by Prote-'ſtation, ſaving to themſelves the liberties of ex-'hibiting hereafter any other Accuſation, or Im-'peachment againſt the Duke, and alſo of Replying 'unto what the Duke ſhall Anſwer unto the ſaid 'Articles, do pray, That the ſaid Duke may be put 'to Anſwer all and every the Premiſes, and that 'ſuch Proceeding, Examinations, Tryals and Judg-'ments, may be upon every of them had as is a-'greeable to Law and Juſtice.

To this Article the Duke of *Buckingham* Replyed, *That his late Majeſty being ſick of an Ague, a Diſeaſe out of which the Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he found moſt Advantagious to his Health? The Duke replyed, a Plaiſter, and Poſſit Drink adminiſtred unto him by the Earl of* Warwick's *Phyſician, whereupon the King much deſired the Plaiſter and Poſſit drink to be ſent for, and the Duke delaying it, the King commanded a Servant of the Dukes to go for it, againſt the Dukes earneſt requeſt; he humbly*

D: Buckingham stab'd by Felton

Mr Pryn. Burton & Bastnich in ye Pillory

The Tumult in Scotland upon Reading ye Comon pray^r



bly craving his Majesty not to make use of it, without the Advice of his own Physicians and Experiment upon others; which the King said he would do, and in confidence thereof the Duke left him, and went to London, and in the mean time he being absent, the said Plaister and Posset Drink were brought; and at the Dukes return, his Majesty commanded the Duke to give him the Posset Drink, which he did, the Physicians then present not seeming to mislike it; afterwards the Kings Health declining, and the Duke hearing a Rumour as if his Physick had done his Majesty hurt, and that he had administred Physick without Advice, the Duke acquainted the King therewith, who with much discontent replyed, They are worse then Devils that say so.

About this time the King again earnestly pressed the House of Commons for a speedy Supply, by their Speaker Sir *Heneage Finch*; giving them to understand, *That if there did not pass the Bill of Subsidy by the end of the week following, it would inforce him to take other Resolutions; and if by their denial, or delay, any thing of ill consequence should fall out either at home, or abroad, he called God and Man to witness, that he had done his part to prevent it, by calling his People together to advise with him; whose sitting (if they dispatched this according to his desire) he resolved to continue, for the dispatch of other Affairs, and after their Recess to bring them again together the next winter.*

Before the Commons sent an Answer, they drew up a Petition to his Majesty. 'That he would be pleased to Remove from all places of Trust and Authority, all such Persons as were either Popish Recusants, or according to the Direction of former Acts of State, justly to be suspected to be such. And herewith they likewise sent a large Scrowl of the Names of all such Noblemen and o-

thers as continued in places of high Truſt in the ſeveral Counties of *England*.

The Anſwer to the late Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, being by him delivered into the Lords Houſe, he deſired their Lordſhips to ſend to the Commons for a ſpeedy Reply; whereupon the Commons required a Copy of his Anſwer. But the Duke fearing what might be the Effect thereof humbly applyed himſelf to the Lords, whom he intreated to allow him the benefit of a free and general Pardon granted by King *James* in Parliament in the 21ſt. Year of his Reign, and likewiſe that of the Coronation.

Preſently after the Commons drew up another Declaration of Grievances againſt the Duke, whom they reſolved utterly to overthrow, though contrary to the Inclination of the King; who being thereat incenſed, diſſolved the Parliament the very next day, *June* 15. 1626. and committed the Earl of *Briſtol* to the Tower, Publiſhing a Proclamation for burning all Copies of the ſaid Declaration. After which the King Publiſhed a Declaration, ſhewing the Grounds and Reaſons of his Diſſolving this and ths former Parliament.

Then ſeveral ways were Reſolved on for advancing the Kings Revenue, and ſpecial care was taken by the Councel for the levying of Cuſtoms and Impoſts upon all Merchandizes Imported and Exported, as being intended to have been ſettled by the Two laſt Parliaments, but prevented by their ſudden Diſſolution: The Forfeitures of Papiſts likewiſe, which had been miſimployed, were now taken into a more ſtrict Account; *Privy Seals* alſo were iſſued out, and *Benevolence* propoſed, and at length a Commiſſion for a General *Loan* was reſolved upon, as the moſt convenient Method, ſince the

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preſent ſtate of Affairs admitted not of the way of a Parliament, and private Inſtructions were given to the Commiſſioners how to manage the buſineſs, which upon their Faith and Allegiance they were commanded to keep Secret, and not to diſcloſe to any.

About this time ſome Souldiers returned from *Cadiz*, and were Quattered in the Countreys, and Money was raiſed for them, which made this Loan the more unwelcome; and Sir *Randolph Crew* for not appearing vigorous in promoting the Loan, was diſplaced from being L. Chief Juſtice, and Sir *Nich. Hyde* advanced in his place; the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was likewiſe informed againſt in the *Star Chamber* by Sir *John Lamb*, and Dr. *Sybthorp*, for ſpeaking againſt the Loan, and ſeeming to favour the Puritans and Nonconformiſts: Not long before which Biſhop *Laud* (hearing that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with the D. of *Buckingham*) Dreamed, *That the Biſhop came to him with Iron Chains, but returned free from them, that he leaped upon a Horſe, departed and he could not overtake him*; which was afterwards interpreted concerning the Biſhop of *Lincolns* taking Arms for the Parliament in *Wales*, and his being at liberty, when Biſhop *Laud* was impriſoned in the Tower.

There were ſeveral Occaſions at this time which required conſiderable Supplies of Money, for beſides that of the *Palatinate*, there was great probability of a War with *France* upon this Occaſion; the *French* King, *Lewis* the 13. had borrowed of his Brother in Law, the King of *England*, a Man of War called the *Vauntguard*, and ſix other Merchants Ships in purſuance of a Deſign againſt *Italy*, but with this expreſs Condition that they ſhould not be imployed againſt the *Proteſtants* at *Rochel*;

there having been an Agreement lately made between them and their King by the Mediation of the *English* Ambaſſadors: But *Mounſieur Soulize*, who was for the Proteſtants, taking the Advantage of the *French* Armies going into *Italy*, ſuddenly broke that Agreement; for getting ſome ſmall Ships together, he Surprized the Iſle of *Rhe*, and ſome Ships in the Harbour, at which the *French* King being offended, turns his whole Deſign from *Italy* to *Rochel*; and with the Seven *Engliſh* Ships under Admiral *Pennington*, Twenty *Dutch* Ships, and the *French* Navy, he furiouſly falls upon *Soulize*, forceth him from his Faſtneſs, and chaſeth him to the Iſle of *Oleron*: The King of *England* was much concerned at this Action of the *French* King, as a breach of his Royal Word, and demanded Satisfaction; which the *French* King deferring to give, the King Seized a Rich *French* Ship, and the *French* King Arreſted the Goods of the *Engliſh* Merchants in *France*, to the value of Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds; but at length all was Reconciled and Reſtored on both ſides.

Thus all ſeemed quiet at preſent, till the Inſolent deportment of the Queens Prieſts and Confeſſor made another Rupture; who Impoſed upon her to go bare-foot, to Spin, to wait upon her Servants at their Dinners, nay to walk on Foot on a Rainy Morning, from *Somerſet-Houſe* to St. *James's*, and from thence as far as *Tybourn* Gallows, to offer up her Prayers for the Souls of ſome *Jeſuits*, whom they ſtiled Martyrs who were formerly Executed there; her Confeſſor himſelf Riding by her in a Coach. Theſe and ſeveral other Arrogancies, being juſtly charged upon the Queens *French* Domeſtick Servants, they were paid off, diſcharged, and ſent home: Upon which the *French* Arreſted

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the Ships of the *Engliſh* Wine Merchants at *Blay Caſtle*, which was ſo ill Reſented by his Majeſty of *Great Britain*; that he reſolved upon a Breach with *France*: But about the ſame time the *Engliſh* Fleet under the L. *Willoughby*, which were ſent to the Aid of the *Rochellers*, were ſo ſcattered by a Storm, that they could ſcarce get into ſafe Harbour.

The Aſſeſſment of the *Loan* was generally oppoſed, whereupon the People of the lower Rank were ordered to appear in the *Military Yard* near St. *Martins in the Fields*, before the Lieutenant of the Tower, to be Liſted for Souldiers; it being thought fit, that thoſe who refuſed to aſſiſt with their Purſes in Common Defence, ſhould be forced to ſerve in their Perſons; others of better Quality, were bound to appear at the Council Table; ſeveral of whom were committed Priſoners to the *Fleet*, *Marſhalſea*, *Gatehouſe*, and other Priſons. and among them Sir *John Eliot*, who Petitioned his Majeſty and repeated many Preſidents, *That all manner of Aids and Taxes in former Kings Reigns were never levied but by the general Conſent of the Nobility and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament.* However he was committed Priſoner to the *Gatehouſe*, and upon the ſame Account Sir *Peter Hayman* was commanded to Serve his Majeſty in the *Palatinate*, which after he had ſettled his Eſtate he did accordingly.

Doctor *Sybthorp* and Dr. *Maynwaring*, two Eminent Preachers at Court, about this time preached up the Neceſſity and Duty of the Loan; one of them Aſſerting, *That the Prince hath Power to Direct his Councel, and make Laws, and that Subjects, if they cannot Exhibit Active Obedience, in Caſe the thing commanded ſhould be againſt the Law of God, or Nature, or make Impoſſible, yet nevertheleſs they ought*

to yield Passive Obedience; and in all other Cases they were bound to Active Obedience. The other Affirmed, *That the Kings Royal Command in Imposing of Loans and Taxes, though without common consent in Parliament, did Oblige the Subjects Conscience upon Pain of Eternal Damnation.* Which Positions being entertained by the Court with Applause, the Sermon of Dr. *Sybthorp*, call'd *Apostolick Obedience*, was Licensed and Approved of by Dr. *Laud* B. of *London*; and an express Command was sent from the King to Archbishop *Abbot* to License it, which he refused, whereupon having been under some disfavour before, this Increased it, and he was suspended from his Archiepiscopal See, and a Commission was granted to Five Bishops to Execute his Office: After which the Bishop Published a Narrative of the Cause and Manner of his Suspension.

Five of those Gentlemen who were Imprisoned about the Loan; had their *Habeas Corpus* granted, and were brought to their Tryal before Sir *Nicholas Hyde* Lord Chief Justice; where, after arguing the Case between Council on both sides, the L. Chief Justice concluded, *That since they were Committed by the Kings Authority*, the Court could not Free them, so that they were remanded to Prison, till the Order came out for a General Release.

The *Irish Papists*, in hope of some Remission of the Penal Laws, offered to Furnish the King at their own Charge with a standing Army of 5000 Foot and 500 Horse, and a large Contribution for securing the Narrow Seas, which was opposed in *England* by Sir *John Savil*, and in *Ireland* by the Lord Primate of *Armagh* and divers others, as tending to preserve the *Papists* Interests, and sinking the *Protestants*; upon which the L. Deputy moved

ved the *Primate* to endeavour to prevail with the *Protestants* to supply the Kings Necessities, which he attempted to do in a very learned Speech, though not with the expected Success.

In 1627, being the Third Year of his Majesties Reign, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to clear his Reputation, as to the Charge of Negligence in his Admiralship, with much ado compleated his Naval Forces, consisting of Six Thousand Horse and Foot in Ten Ships Royal, and Ninety Merchant Men; with which he set Sail from *Portsmouth June* 27, and published a *Manifesto* of the Kings Affection to the *Reformed* Churches in *France*, and his displeasure against the last misimploying of his Ships against the *Rochellers*. But by several Accidents this great Design miscarried, with the Death of near Two Thousand common Souldiers, Thirty Prisoners of Note and Fourty four Colours taken: But notwithstanding this Expedition of the Isle of *Rhe* miscarried, yet at Sea there was somewhat better Success; a great *French* Ship was taken upon the Coasts of *Holland*, Laden with great Guns, Arms, and Ammunition of all sorts, to a very considerable value; Sir *John Pennington* likewise took Thirty Four Rich *French* Merchantmen, homeward bound, which were all safely brought to *England*; the poor remains of the Army which came from the Isle of *Rhe*, most of them *Irish* and *Scots*, and consequently rude and boisterous, were quartered in the Countrey Villages, which was very troublesome to the People.

At this time the *Exchequer* was very low, and several late Enterprizes having miscarried, the *Rochellers*, being also now more distressed than ever; the causes of these evils were gravely represented by Sir *Robert Cotton* to several Lords of the Council;

whereupon it was resolved on by the Council, that a Parliament should be called, and Writs were presently Issued out; A Commission likewise passed under the Great Seal, for raising Moneys through the Kingdome in Nature of an Excise; and the Lord Treasurer was ordered to pay Thirty Thousand Pound to *Philip Burmelack*, a *Dutch* Merchant, to be returned to Sir *William Balfour* and *John Dalbier* in the *Low Countreys*, for raising a Thousand Horse; which caused strange jealousies and suspicions among the People, as if these *German* Horse were designed to inforce the payment of the Excise. There was some discourse about Levying *Ship money*, but it was declined at that time, because of the Parliament approaching.

In the meantime a company of *Jesuites* were apprehended in an House at *Clerkenwell*, which was designed for a *Colledge* of that Order; where among other Papers, a Letter was found, discovering their secret Designs they had laid for imbroiling Church and State.

Upon the 17th of *March* 1627, the Parliament Assembled, the Commons chusing Sir *John Finch* Speaker, the King in a Speech tells the two Houses, *That the greatness of the danger was such, as required a speedy Supply, and that therefore they might rest assured it was the principal cause of their Meeting; wherein he hoped they would shew themselves such true Patriots of the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and the just defence of their Friends and Allies, now in such hazard by* Popish *Enemies, as not to deceive his Expectations, which were very great, though indeed somewhat rapt, by Remembrance of the Distractions of the last Meeting.* The *Lord Keeper* likewise Inforc'd the Kings Speech, and earnestly pressed them, to consider of some speedy way for Supply-

Supplying his Majesties Necessities.

Before the Parliament began any debate, a Letter came to them Directed, *To the Members of the House of Commons*, called *A Speech without Doors*; discovering the Grievances and Inconveniences of the State, from one who had been a Member of the former Parliament. The first thing taken into Consideration by the Commons, was the Grievances of the Kingdom, and the first thing Insisted on was the Case of those Gentlemen for refusing the *Loan*, and who notwithstanding their *Habeas Corpus*, were Remanded to Prison; and after a long Debate between several Members, who asserted the Illegality of the Loan, and also their Imprisonment for refusing it; the Lord Chief Justice *Hyde* and several other Judges were desired to declare themselves; who justified their own proceedings, alledging, *That if they had granted them Bail upon* Habeas Corpus, *it would have reflected upon the King, as if he had unjustly Imprisoned them:* But in conclusion it was resolved upon the Question in the House of Commons, *Nemine Contradicente*: 1. *That no man ought to be restrained by the Command of the King or Privy Council, without some Cause of the Commitment.* 2. *That the writ of* Habeas Corpus *ought to be granted upon Request to every Man that is restrained, though by the Command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other.* 3. *That if a Freeman be imprisoned by the Command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other, and no Cause of such Commitment expressed, and the same be returned upon an* Habeas Corpus *granted for the said Party, then he ought to be delivered or Bailed.*

Then the Parliament proceeded to draw up a Petition against *Popish* Recusants, consisting of these particulars. 1. *That all Laws and Statutes against Jesuites and Popish Priests, be put in power and Execution.* 2. *That a strict course be taken for the Apprehending*

prehending and Diſcovering of them. 3. *That all Popiſh Recuſants be prohibited from coming to Court, or within Ten Miles of* London. 4. *That no place of Truſt or Authority ſhall be committed to Popiſh Recuſants*; with ſeveral other particulars to the ſame purpoſe; which Petition was preſented from the Lords and Commons to the King by the Lord Keeper, who gave a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer to every Article; after which Five Subſidies were granted to the King, which gave ſo great ſatisfaction to his Majeſty, that he ſent them Word; *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predeceſſors had granted*: A Petition was then preſented againſt Quartering Souldiers in the Countries, to which the King promiſed an Anſwer in convenient time; whereupon the Commons fell upon the memorable *Petition of Right*, and after ſeveral of the Members had delivered their Opinions at large concerning ſome Clauſes in it, the Lords agreed that without any Addition or Preface it ſhould be preſented to the King; the Subſtance whereof was,

1. They do pray his moſt Excellent Majeſty, *That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or ſuch like Charge, without common conſent by Act of Parliament, and that none be called to make Anſwer, or to take ſuch Oath, or to give Attendance, or be confined, or otherwiſe be moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for Refuſal thereof.* 2. *That no Freeman be taken and impriſoned or be diſſeiſed of his Freehold of Liberty, or his free Cuſtoms, or be outlawed, or exiled, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Laws of the Land.* 3. *That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the Souldiers and Marriners now Billeted in ſeveral Countries; and that your People may not be ſo burdened for*

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the time to come. 4. *That the late Commissions for proceeding by Martial Law, may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no Commission of like Nature may Issue forth to any Person or Persons whatsoever, to be Executed, least by colour of them, any of your Majesties Subjects be destroyed, or put to death contrary to Law and the Franchises of the Law.*

All which we most humbly pray your most Excellent Majesty as their Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; And that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That all Awards, Doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of your People, shall not be drawn hereafter into Consequence and Example.

After this there came a Letter from the King to the House of Lords, wherein among other things, His Majesty declared it to be his Royal pleasure, which God willing he would ever continue and constantly maintain; *That neither he, nor his Privy Council, should or would hereafter, command to Prison, or otherwise restrain the Persons of any for not lending Money: nor for any Cause which in his Conscience did not concern the publick good; nor would he be drawn to pretend any cause, wherein his judgment was not fully satisfied.*

This, Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) said, *was a Letter of Grace, but that the People were not so satisfied but by a Parliamentary way, That the debate would spend much time; That it was not directed to the House of Commons, and that the Petition it self would rectify all mistakes.* When the *Petition of Right* was presented to the King, the Answer following was quickly returned; *The King willeth that Right be done according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm; and that the Statutes be put in due Execution, that his Subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or Oppressions, contra-*

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ry to their juſt Rights and Liberties; to the Preſervation Whereof he holds himſelf in Conſcience as well obliged, as to that of his Prerogative.

This Anſwer being Read in the Houſe of Commons, was not judged Satisfactory; and therefore upon their Humble Petition for a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer to the *Petition of Right*, His Majeſty to ſhew how free and candid his Conceſſions were to his Subjects, ſent them this ſhort but full Anſwer; *Soit Droit Lait comè il eſt deſire*, Let it be done according to your deſire. Which Anſwer was Received with the general joy and Satisfaction of both Houſes; and the Citizens made Boneffres, and Rung Bells, and his Majeſty for further Satisfaction was pleaſed to receive into Favour *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Biſhop *Williams*, and ſeveral others: His Majeſty likewiſe ſuffered the Commiſſion of Loan and Exciſe to be cancelled in his preſence, ſo that all diſcontents of every ſide ſeemed to be baniſhed.

In 1628 the Fourth year of his Majeſties Reign, the Parliament not being ſatisfied of their former diſappointment about the Duke of *Buckingham*, drew up another Remonſtrance againſt him, and likewiſe againſt Biſhop *Neal*, and Biſhop *Laud*, which they preſented to the King with the Bill of Subſidies: His Majeſty telling them, *That he expected not ſuch a Return for his favourable Anſwer to the* petition of Right, *and as for the Grievances he would take time to conſider of them.*

An Information being likewiſe Exhibited againſt the Duke in the *Star Chamber*, for divers Offences and Miſdemeanors, an Order was made in that Court, that all proceedings thereupon ſhould be taken off the File, by the Kings expreſs Will and Pleaſure: And becauſe it had been reported by a

Member

Member of Parliament that the Duke ſhould ſay at his Table, *Piſh, it matters not what the Parliament doth, for without my leave and Authority, they ſhall not be able to touch the Hair of a Dog*: The Duke made Proteſtation in the Houſe of Lords, *That he never had thoſe words ſo much as in his Thoughts.* But the King being reſolved to hold up the Duke, ſent ſo brisk an Anſwer to their Remonſtrances, as provoked the Commons (who had ſoon forgot his Majeſties late Act of Grace) to queſtion his taking Tunnage and Poundage; which being of too valuable conſideration to be hazarded, his Majeſty obviated by Adjourning the Parliament to the 20th. of *October*, there being ſeveral Acts paſſed by them, One *About the Lords day*, Another *To reſtrain the ſending any to be* Popiſhly *bread beyond the Seas*, Another *for Confirmation of the Subſidies granted by the Clergie, and for the grant of Five Entire Subſidies upon the Temporality*, and divers more.

Much about this time Dr. *Lamb*, *who was* in great Favour with the Duke of *Buckingham* (and had been formerly twice Arraigned, once for *Necromancy*, and another time for a *Rape*) was killed by the furious Multitude in *Lothbury*, who hated him both for his own ſake and the Dukes, he being called the Dukes Devil; and though he were guarded by four Conſtables and their Attendants, yet the Rabble ſtruk him down, beat out one of his eyes, and left him half dead on the Ground, from whence he was called to the *Poultrey Counter*, where he died, according to his own Prediction the year before; being pitied by few, and loved of none.

The Earl of *Denbigh* having a while ſince ſailed with Fifty Ships to the relief of *Rochel*, was repelled with much loſs; ſo that deſpairing of Succeſs, he returned back to *Plymouth*; whereupon another

Expedition

Expedition was resolved on, with a more considerable Navy, and the Duke of *Buckingham* was designed Admiral, who going to *Portsmouth*, in order to hastning of business, one *John Felton* a Leiutenant stabbed him to the heart with a Knife; which the Murtherer flying, left sticking in his Body, till the Duke himself dragg'd it out, and immediately after died: *Felton* was soon apprehended by the Servants, and laden with Irons, and being asked, what inclined him to commit so horrid an Action? He boldly answered, *He killed him for the cause of God and his Country*: He likewise fastned a Paper in the Crown of his Hatt, which intimated, *That his only Motive to this Fact, was the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke, and that he could not sacrifice his Life in a nobler Cause, than by delivering his Country from so great an Enemy.* *Felton* was afterwards Condemned and Hanged at *Tybourn*, and his Body hanged upon a Gibbet at *Portsmouth*.

There was observation made of divers Passages presaging the Dukes Death, as that his Picture fell down in the high Commission Chamber at *Lambeth*, That the Lady *Davis* reputed a Prophetess, had foretold in *June*, that the Dukes fatal time would not come till *August*; and lastly, that Mr. *Towerson* of the *Custombouse* was charged by a Phantasm or Ghost, resembling the Dukes Father, to tell him, *That if he changed not his courses, he should shortly become a great Fairing to the City of* London; which was afterwards judg'd to be accomplished by his death, which happened the day before the Fast, that is *August* 23. 1628.

However the Fleet set Sail under the Command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, and came to the Bar of *Rochel* Haven, where there was a wonderful *Barracado* contrived

contrived by Cardinal *Richlieu*, of Fourteen Hundred Yards, croſs the Channel; however the Earl adventured in, paſſing the Forts and Outworks, but the Wind changing, drove the Ships upon each other, which unhappy Accident made the *Rochellers* deſpair of Relief, and occaſioned the preſent ſurrender of the Town; after which the Earl of *Lindſey* brought the Fleet ſafe home again.

The Parliament was to have met in *October*, but by reaſon of ſome ill news during this Expedition, they were again Adjourned to *January* 20th; in which time the Merchants refuſing to pay Cuſtom, had their goods ſeized; Complaint whereof being made to the Parliament, the King ſummons the two Houſes to the Banquetting Houſe at *White-hall*, and requires them to paſs the promiſed Bill of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, for ending all differences, ſince it was too precious a Jewel of the Crown to be ſo lightly forgone.

But the Commons being forward enough to take all occaſions to put of the Kings Requeſts, Anſwered, *That Gods Cauſe was to be preferr'd before the Kings, and they would therefore in the firſt place conſult concerning Religion*; and thereupon appointed one Committee for *Religion*, and another for *Civil Matters*; in the laſt wherof there was a complaint that the *Petition of Right*, had been Printed with the Kings firſt Anſwer only, and not with the laſt which was judged Satisfactory: Another complaint was likewiſe made about the Cuſtoms, and Mr. *Rolls* a Member of the Houſe affirmed, That it was reported ſome of the Officers of the Cuſtom-houſe ſhould ſay, *Though all the Parliament were in you, we would take your Goods*; Mr. *Richard Chambers* was likewiſe impriſoned for ſaying at the Council Table, *That ſuch great Cuſtoms and Impoſitions were required*

of

of the Merchants in England, *as were in no other Plac and that they were more screwed up than under the* Turk After which a Form of Submission being sent hi from the *Star Chamber* to subscribe his name there to, he instead of owning it as a fault, underwrit the words, *All the aboveſaid Contents I* Richard Cham bers *do utterly abhor and deteſt, as moſt unjuſt an falſe: and never to death will acknowledge any par thereof*; and quoted divers Scriptures againſt Op preſſion and Injuſtice.

As to the Printing the *Petition of Right*, the Prin ter was queſtioned, and for the other, the *Farmer* of the Cuſtoms were challenged to Anſwer it, bu the King excuſed them, as Acting by his Com mand! yet this not being clear to the Parliament they would have proceeded againſt them as Delin quents, whereupon the King ſent them Word *That in honour he could not, nor would give way there to*: Which ſo increaſed the Parliament, that they Adjourned themſelves for ſome days, and then meeting again, the King Adjourned them further till *March* 1. upon which Sir *John Eliot* ſtood up, and accuſed the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, as an Ene my to the *Engliſh* Trade, and deſigning to transfer it to Forreigners; which Speech cauſed a further Adjournment to *March* 10. The Commons inraged hereat, blamed their Speaker for admitting the Meſſage, and ordered Sir *John Eliot* to read their Remonſtrance (the Speaker and Clerk refuſing to do it) which was to this purpoſe;

That the Houſe had conſidered of the Bill *for* Tunnage *and* Poundage, *but being overpreſt with other buſineſs, and that of it ſelf ſo perplext, as would require much leiſure to diſcharge, could not at that time finiſh it; this preſent Seſſion moving haſtily to an end; and leaſt his Majeſty ſhould hereafter, as he had done heretofore,*

encline

encline to Evil Spirits, or to be abused to believe, that might justly receive the Subsidies of Tonnage *and* Poundage, *which they humbly declare to be against the Fundamental Law of the Nation, and contrary to the Kings late Answer to the* Petition of Right) *therefore they crave that his Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes, and not take it ill, if his Subjects refuse what is demanded by Arbitrary and unwarrantable Power.*

A Report was likewise made from the Committee of Pardons by *Oliver Cromwell*, (a fatal name afterward) that Dr. *Neal* Bishop of *Winchester*, was chiefly Instrumental, in procuring the Kings hand to the Pardons of Dr. *Sybthorp*, Dr. *Maynwaring*. Mr. *Cousens*, and Mr. *Montague*, and that he had likewise preferr'd Dr. *Maynwaring* to a rich Living, though censured by the former Parliament, and disabled from holding any Ecclesiastical Dignity; and also that he was a Countenancer not only of *Arminianism*, but flat *Popery*.

The Commons having prepared their Remonstrance about the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, they required their Speaker to put it to the Vote, whether it should be presented to the King, or not; but the Speaker refused it, and accordingly to the Kings order would have gone away; but Mr. *Hollis* would not suffer him to stir till himself had read the Protestation of the House, consisting of 3 Heads.

1. *Whoever shall bring in any Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce Popery, or Arminianism, or other Opinions, disagreeing from the True and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common-wealth.* 2. *Whosoever shall Counsel or Advise, the taking, or levying the Subsidies of* Tonnage and Poundage; *not being granted by* Parliament, *or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to the Commonwealth.* 3. *If any man shall yield voluntarily, or*

pay

Pay the ſame; not being granted by Parliament, *he ſhall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of* England, *and an Enemy to the Commonwealth.*

Theſe Articles were entertained with the general Approbation of the Members, but were much diſliked by the King, who immediately ſent for the *Serjeant of the Mace* out of the Houſe of Commons, but Sir *Miles Hobart* took the Key from him, and locking the door would not ſuffer him to go forth, at which the King being very much offended, he ſends the Uſher of the Black Rod to diſſolve them, who was not admitted in, whereupon the King, with his Guard of *Penſioners*, were reſolved to force their Entrance; which the *Commons* having notice of, they ſuddenly went all out of the Houſe; and this was the end of this Parliament.

After their Diſſolution, the King publiſheth a Declaration of the Cauſes thereof; and then queſtion'd Eleven of the Refractory Members at the Council Table, who were all committed to divers Priſons. About the ſame time the Marquis of *Huntley*, Sheriff of the greateſt part of *Scotland*, neglecting the Order of the *Council* for ſeizing ſome *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites*, who publickly ſaid *Maſs* and committed other Inſolences at *Aberdeen*, with ſeveral other Lords, who joyned with him, and refuſed to appear upon Summons, and had likewiſe given notice to the Prieſts and Jeſuites to eſcape, were proclaimed Rebels and Traitors to the King and Kingdom; upon which they fled into *England*. The *French* King having had much loſs by the War with *England*, did now therefore propoſe and conclude a Peace with the King, conſiſting of ſeveral Articles.

A Paper was about this time diſperſed abroad, containing ſome Projects how the King might Aug-

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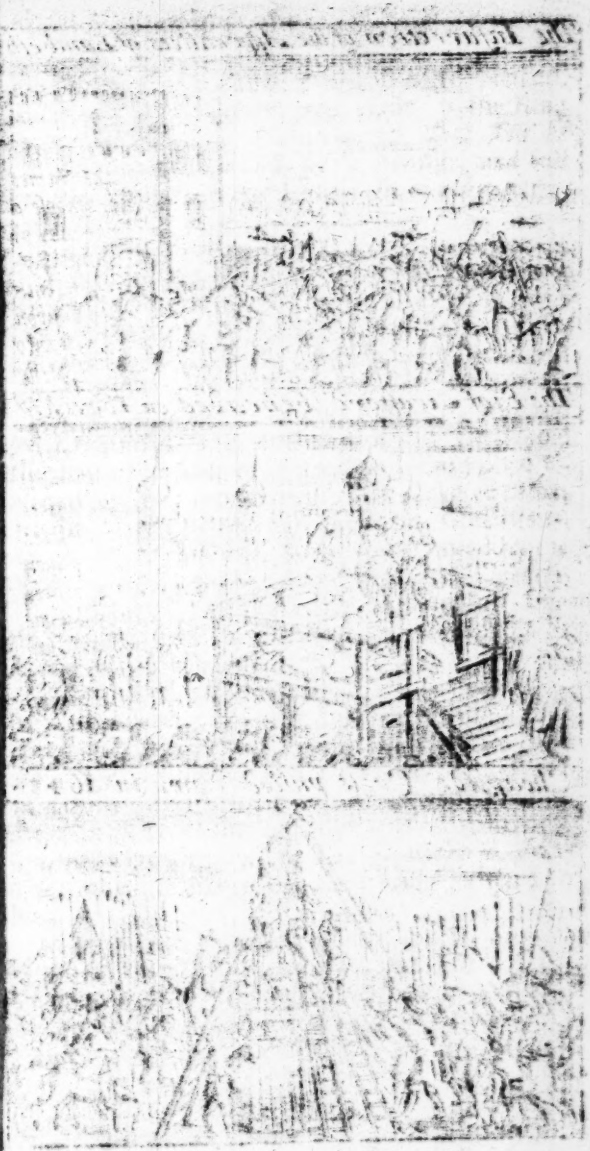
ment his Revenues without the help of Parliaments upon which the Earls of *Bedford*, *Somerset*, and *Clare* with others, where committed upon Information that they had disperſed ſome Copies of them; but Sir *David Fowls* ſoon cleared them, who depoſed upon Oath, that it was contrived near Sixteen years before, by Sir *Robert Dudley* Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, when he was in *Italy*.

The diſſolving the laſt Parliament procured great Animoſities in the People againſt the Prime Miniſters of State, which occaſioned divers Invective Libels to be diſperſed abroad, whereof one againſt Biſhop *Laud* was found in the *Dean* of St. *Paul's* Yard to this Effect. Laud *look to thy ſelf, be aſſured thy life is ſought; as thou art the Fountain of Wickedneſs, repent of thy monſtrous ſin before thou be taken out of the World; and aſſure thy ſelf*, Neither God, nor the World, can endure *ſuch a vile Councellor, or whiſperer*. Another very bitter Libel was ſcattered againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*: On the other ſide ſome conſidering the unſucceſsfulneſs of this and the two former Parliaments, adviſed never for the future to call any more Parliaments; and to that end the forementioned *Book of Projects* was publiſhed, and addreſt to the King, propoſing ſome methods to prevent the *Impertinency* of Parliaments (as he called them) for time to come, by the Example of *Lewes* 11th. of *France*; who pretended that the *Commons* or Third Eſtate, did incroach too much upon the Nobility and Clergy, diſſolved it; and never after ſuffered the People freely to Elect their Repreſentatives: but nominated certain Eminent Perſons himſelf inſtead thereof, which is called, L' *Aſſembly des Notabiles*, or the Aſſembly of Chief, or Principal Men; and the Methods propoſed to avoid Parliaments were:

1. *To*

1. *To have a Fortress in every considerable Town.* 2. *To cause high-ways to be made through all such Towns.* 3. *To make none of the Inhabitants Governors of those Fortresses.* 4. *To let none pass through those Towns without a Ticket.* 5. *To have the Names of all Lodgers taken by Innkeepers.* 6. *To impose a general Oath upon the Subjects, not to oppose any of these Contrivances.* And to increase the Kings Revenue, the Advice was, 1. *To demand the Tenth part of every Mans Estate.* 2. *To buy all Leases upon the Crown Lands.* 3. *To take the benefit of Salt into his own hands.* 4. *To demand a Rate for Sealing the Weights every year.* 5. *To lay a Taxe upon Wools.* 6. *upon every Lawyers Fee.* 7. *upon Inns and Victualling Houses for a Licence.* 8. *upon all Cattle, Flesh, and Horses sold in the Market.* 9. *upon all Lands Alienated.* 10. *To set a Rate upon all Offices in his Majesties Grant.* 11. *To Reduce his Majesties Houshold to board wages.* 12. *To lay a Taxe upon white Meats on fasting days.* 13. *To lay an Imposition upon the Papists Lands.* 14. *To Advance some Hundreds of Persons to Honours.* 15. *To prohibit excess in Apparel, which would save the Gentry more Money, then what they were Taxed would amount to.*

In the year 1629 one *Bellingham* was Arrested in *Fleet-street*, and several Gentlemen of the *Temple* attempting his Rescue, divers of them were wounded, and some imprisoned; which so increased the Tumult, that the *Templers* made a Barricado at St. *Dunstans* Church, being about Six Hundred in Number, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs coming against them with a Company of the Train'd Bands, they boldly resisted them, killing five of them, and wounding near a hundred; but in the end, being dispersed, two of them, that is Captain



The Insurrection of the Apprentices at Lambeth

The E: of Strafford beheaded on Tower hill

Cheapside Cross pulled down in 1643

tain *Stamford* and Captain *Aſhurſt* were hanged. though great Interceſſion was made to the King for *Stamfords* Life; who anſwered, *That ſince he had been formerly Pardoned for a Murther, and had committed another, a Courſe ought to be taken to prevent a Third.*

Upon *May* 29. 1630, the Queen was delivered of a Son at *St. James's*, who was Chriſtened *Charles*, and Preſerved by Providence, to Succeed his Father in theſe Three Kingdoms, as his Rightful Inheritance, after the Miſeries of a long and tedious Exile from his Native Countrey, unto which he was at length happily Reſtored, with the general Conſent and Acclamations of the whole Kingdom, The King of *France*, and the Prince Elector *Palatine*, repreſented by the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Marquis *Hamilton*, were his Godfathers, and the *Queen Mother* of *France*, repreſented by the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, his Godmother, It was obſerved that at his Nativity a Star was ſeen at Noonday, which might portend ſome extraordinary Paſſages of this Princes Life.

About this time Dr. *Leighton* was ſentenced in the *Star Chamber*, to have his Body Whipt, his Fore-head Stigmatized, his Ears Cropt, his Noſe Slit; for publiſhing a Book called *Sions Plea*: wherein he exhorted the late Parliament to ſmite the Biſhops under the Fifth Rib; and called the Queen the Daughter of *Heth*, a *Canaanite* and Idolatreſs: which Sentence was accordingly inflicted on him.

In *Ireland* the Papiſts preſumed on St. *Stephens* day to ſay Maſs in *Dublin*, while the Lords Chief Juſtices were at Church; who having notice thereof, ordered the Prieſts, Crucifixes, and Veſtments, to be ſeized; and Eight *Popiſh* Aldermen

were likewise Imprisoned for not Assisting the Mayor; but some Papists making a Tumult, rescued the Priests, whom the Guards again forced to deliver back. Upon Information of this Riot and Insolency, Fifteen Houses were by special Order from the Council seized upon for his Majesties use; and the Priests and Fryers so disturbed, that two of them hanged themselves: Neither did the Papists agree together, for there were great Contests in *England* between the *Jesuites* and Secular *Priests*.

The Earl of *Essex* had many years before married the Lady *Howard*, who complaining of his Insufficiency for Marriage Duties, the Cause was brought to a Tryal; and it being made appear by a Jury of Midwives and the Earls own Confession, *That he never could, and believed he never should, carnally know her*: Thereupon Sentence of Divorce between him and his Lady was pronounced by the Bishops: However the Earl was resolved to try his Fortune once more, and therefore upon his return out of the *Low Countreys*, where he had been for some time a Souldier, he now Married a Daughter of Sir *William Paulet* of *Wiltshire*; but a while after she objecting the same cause of complaint, desired likewise to be Divorced from him; which the Earl easily consented to, and it was done accordingly.

In the year 1631, and the 7th of his Majesties Reign, *Mervin* Lord *Audly*, and Earl of *Castlehaven*, was Tryed by his Peers upon the Petition of his own Son and Heir, for *Rape and Sodomy*; many unnatural and beastly Actions being proved against him; whereupon he received Sentence to be Hanged, but had the Favour to be Beheaded at *Tower-hill*. This Earl was born of a very honoura-

ble

ble Family, and educated in the *Proteſtant* Religion, but turned *Papiſt* to have the more liberty to commit wickedneſs; in which he grew to ſo great a height, that he impudently declared in the preſence of ſome Lords, *As others had their ſeveral Delights, ſome in one thing, ſome in another; ſo his whole Delight was in damning Souls, by enticing Men to ſuch Acts as might ſurely effect it.*

About this time Sir *Giles Allington* was Convented for Marrying his own Niece, and was fined Twelve thouſand *Pounds* to the King, and to give Twenty thouſand *Pound* Bond never to cohabit, or come in private with his Niece again; and both of them to do *Penance* at St. *Pauls Croſs*, or St. *Maries* in *Cambridge*. which they accordingly did.

The *Proteſtants* were very much diſcontented in *Ireland*, that the *Papiſts* were diſcharged from paying the State Penalty of Twelve Pence a Sunday for not going to Church; whereby their Number was wonderfully increaſed: Whereupon the King recalled the Lords Juſtices, who then governed that Kingdom, and ſent Viſcount *Wentworth* (afterward Earl of *Straſſord*) thither as Lord Deputy, as judging that theſe diſtempers would be better compoſed under a ſingle Government.

In the year 1633, and the 9th of his Majeſties Reign, the King made a Journey into *Scotland*, attended with ſeveral of the Nobility and Perſons of Quality; and *June* 18 was ſolemnly Crowned King at *Edenbourgh*, which Solemnity being finiſhed, the King calls a Parliament, and paſſeth an Act for Ratification of the old Acts; though ſome affirmed, That the Confirmation of Epiſcopacy was intended thereby, and therefore (though in vain) oppoſed it; upon which ſome of thoſe Per-

ſons became a while after principal Men among the Covenanters: In this *Scottiſh* Parliament, that Nation ſhewed then ſome ſigns of diaffection to the King, by Reaſon of ſeveral Acts which then paſſed; and the generality of the People (who without doubt were influenced by the greater Malecontents) would not ſuffer the Biſhop of *Dunblain*, Dean of the Kings Private Chappel there, to perform Prayers twice a day after the *Engliſh* manner; neither durſt they receive the Communion on their knees, nor wear a Surplice upon *Sundays* and *Holy days*.

Not long before his Majeſty went to *Scotland*, being deſirous if poſſible to have prevented that Trouble, the King writ to a *Scottiſh* Lord who was intruſted with that Crown, to bring it into *England*, that he might be Crowned here; but the Lord returned Anſwer, *That he durſt not be ſo falſe to his Truſt, but if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to accept thereof in* Scotland, *he ſhould find thoſe his People ready to yield him the higheſt Honour; but if he ſhould long defer that Duty, they might perhaps be inclined to make choice of another King.* A very ſtrange and unuſual Anſwer from a Subject to a Prince.

October 13, 1633. The Queen was delivered of her Second Son, who was Baptized *James*, and deſigned Duke of *York*; and about that time died *George Abbot* L. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Laud* Biſhop of *London* was Elected into his place.

In the Year 1634 the *Engliſh* Coaſts were very much Infeſted by Pyrates, and the Fiſhing Trade almoſt ingroſſed by the *Hollanders*; and his Majeſty having occaſion for Money to Regain his Abſolute Dominion over the *Britiſh* Seas, the Deſign

ſign of *Shipmoney* was firſt ſet on foot; and Attorney General *Noy* being conſulted about it, he out of ſome old Records finds an Ancient Preſident of Raiſing a Tax upon the Nation, by the Authority of the King alone, for ſetting out a Navy in caſe of danger; which was thereupon accordingly put in Execution, and by this Tax the King raiſed by Writ above Twenty thouſand pound a Month, though not without great diſcontent both among the Clergy and Laiety.

The Diſcontents in *Scotland* began to increaſe, and a Book was publiſhed charging the King with indirect proceedings in the laſt Parliament and a tendancy to the *Romiſh* Belief, and to blow up theſe *Scoth* Sparks to a Flame, Cardinal *Richlieu* ſent over his Chaplain and another Gentleman, to heighten their Diſcontents: The Author of that Book was ſeized, and found to be abbetted by the Lord *Balmerino*, the Treacherous Son of a perfidious Father; who was thereupon Arraigned by his Peers, and Sentenced to Death, but Pardoned by the King.

At this time *Gregory Panzani* a Prieſt, was ſen over by the Pope with a Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer* to decide the difference between the *Jeſuites* and *Secular* Prieſts, and Inſinuating himſelf into the Favour of the Lord *Cottington*, and Secretary *Windebank*, he endeavours to diſcover how far the King might be perſwaded about giving Toleration to the *Popiſh* Religion; as to allow them a *Popiſh* Biſhop to reſide here, but nominated and limited by the King; and that the Pope might ſend a *Nuncio* to the Queen; but having made ſome agreement between the Jeſuites and Prieſts *Panzani* returned to *Rome*, and left the further tranſacting of Buſineſs to Seignior *Con*, who ſtaid in his room.

In

In the year 1635, A Noble Fleet was fitted out, by the Supply of *Shipmoney*, consisting of Forty Sail, under the Earl of *Lindsey*, to scour the Seas from Pyrates; at which time the *French* and *Hollanders* had confederated against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders* both by Land and Sea; but the *English* Fleet removed the *Hollanders* from before *Dunkirk*, and the Common People inraged by the *French* insolencies at Land, rose up against them, and Assisted the *Spaniard* to expel them the Countrey.

One *Robert Par* of *Shropshire*, a Man almost an Hundred and threescore years old, was this year brought to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel* as a Rarity or Miracle, where he dyed soon after; though it is very probable he might have lived much longer, if he had continued at home; for his removal from his own Air, change of Diet, and the tediousness of so long a Journey, may be supposed to have hastned his end.

December, 28, 1635. the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings Second Daughter was born, and to Congratulate the Queens happy delivery, the *Hollander* sent an Ambassador with a present of an extraordinary value; that is, a Massy Piece of Ambergreece, Two large and almost Transparent *China* Dishes; a Clock of most excellent Workmanship, which was made by *Rodulphus* Emperour of *Germany*; and likewise several curious pieces of Painting.

Dr. *William Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, about this time was made Lord Treasurer in the place of the L. *Weston* Earl of *Portland*, deceased: And now great differences arose about Church matters, chiefly occasioned by Arch Bishop *Lauds* strict and zealous Enjoyning of Ceremonies, as placing the Communion Table at the East end of the Church, upon an Ascent with Rails, Altar fashion; with many

many other things not formerly ſtrictly inſiſted on, and now vehemently oppoſed by thoſe who were uſually called *Puritans* and *Non-conformiſts*, which cauſed them to be charged with Faction; yet ſome of the *Epiſcopal* Party Aſſerted, That the Communion Table ought to ſtand in the middle of the Quire, according to the *Primitive* Example; and a Book ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. *Williams* B. of *Lincoln*, was Publiſhed to this purpoſe.

His Majeſty conſidering the good Succeſs of his former Fleet, fits out another in the year 1636, under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who going Northward, ſcowred the Seas of the *Holland* Buſſes, and reduced them to deſire leave of his Majeſty to Fiſh there, which the King upon divers Conſiderations granted them.

Several Gentlemen of Quality had refuſed to pay the Impoſition of Ship-money and among the reſt Mr. *Hamden* of *Buckinghamſhire*, upon which his Majeſty refers the whole buſineſs to his Twelve Judges in *Michaelmas* Term 1636; Ten of whom that is, *Brampton*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Jones*, *Trevor*, *Vernon*, *Berkly*, *Crawly*, *Weſton*, gave their Judgments againſt *Hamden* and his Aſſociates, and ſubſcribed their Names to be Inrolled in all the Courts of *Weſtminſter* Hall; but *Hutton* and *Crook* refuſed it: This year *March* the 17. the Kings Kings Third Daughter, the Princeſs *Ann* was born.

In the Thirteenth year of his Majeſties Reign 1637, Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Pryn*, and Mr. *Burton* received a ſevere Cenſure for writing againſt Biſhops and their Government; they being all three Sentenced to pay Five Thouſand Pounds Fine to the King, to loſe their Ears in the Pillory, and to be Impriſoned, which they accordingly ſuffered.

Biſhop *Williams* of *Lincoln* having the great Seal

In the year 1635, A Noble Fleet was fitted out, by the Supply of *Shipmoney*, consisting of Forty Sail, under the Earl of *Lindsey*, to scour the Seas from Pyrates; at which time the *French* and *Hollanders* had confederated against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders* both by Land and Sea; but the *English* Fleet removed the *Hollanders* from before *Dunkirk*, and the Common People inraged by the *French* insolencies at Land, rose up against them, and Assisted the *Spaniard* to expel them the Countrey.

One *Robert Par* of *Shropshire*, a Man almost an Hundred and threescore years old, was this year brought to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel* as a Rarity or Miracle, where he dyed soon after; though it is very probable he might have lived much longer, if he had continued at home; for his removal from his own Air, change of Diet, and the tediousness of so long a Journey, may be supposed to have hastned his end.

December, 28, 1635. the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings Second Daughter was born, and to Congratulate the Queens happy delivery, the *Hollander* sent an Ambassador with a present of an extraordinary value; that is, a Massy Piece of Ambergreece, Two large and almost Transparent *China* Dishes; a Clock of most excellent Workmanship, which was made by *Rodulphus* Emperour of *Germany*; and likewise several curious pieces of Painting.

Dr. *William Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, about this time was made Lord Treasurer in the place of the L. *Weston* Earl of *Portland*, deceased: And now great differences arose about Church matters, chiefly occasioned by Arch Bishop *Lauds* strict and zealous Enjoyning of Ceremonies, as placing the Communion Table at the East end of the Church, upon an Ascent with Rails, Altar fashion; with many

many other things not formerly ſtrictly inſiſted on, and now vehemently oppoſed by thoſe who were uſually called *Puritans* and *Non-conformiſts*, which cauſed them to be charged with Faction; yet ſome of the *Epiſcopal* Party Aſſerted, That the Communion Table ought to ſtand in the middle of the Quire, according to the *Primitive* Example; and a Book ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. *Williams* B. of *Lincoln*, was Publiſhed to this purpoſe.

His Majeſty conſidering the good Succeſs of his former Fleet, fits out another in the year 1636, under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who going Northward, ſcowred the Seas of the *Holland* Buſſes, and reduced them to deſire leave of his Majeſty to Fiſh there, which the King upon divers Conſiderations granted them.

Several Gentlemen of Quality had refuſed to pay the Impoſition of Ship-money and among the reſt Mr. *Hamden* of *Buckinghamſhire*, upon which his Majeſty refers the whole buſineſs to his Twelve Judges in *Michaelmas* Term 1636; Ten of whom that is, *Brampton*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Jones*, *Trever*, *Vernon*, *Berkly*, *Crawly*, *Weſton*, gave their Judgments againſt *Hamden* and his Aſſociates, and ſubſcribed their Names to be Inrolled in all the Courts of *Weſtminſter* Hall; but *Hutton* and *Crook* refuſed it: This year *March* the 17. the Kings Kings Third Daughter, the Princeſs *Ann* was born.

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Biſhop *Williams* of *Lincoln* having the great Seal

taken from him in the first year of his Majesties Reign, he so deeply resented it, that ever after he studied Revenge; and a Bill being preferr'd against him in the *Star Chamber* for some dishonourable Speeches of the King, he endeavoured by some indirect means to clear his Innocence, and was therefore this year sentenced Ten thousand Pounds Fine to the King, Imprisonment in the *Tower*, during Pleasure, to be suspended *ab Officiis, et Beneficiis*, from his Bishoprick, and the Profits thereof, and to be referred to the *High Commission* Court as to what concerned them.

His Majesty desiring an Uniformity in Religion in *England* and *Scotland* (a thing before designed by King *James*) in pursuance thereof enjoyned the *Scots* the use of the *English* Liturgy, the Surplice, and other Habiliments, and began first at his own Chappel; and in this year 1637, Proclamation was made that the same Order should be observed in all Churches, wherewith the Bishops were contented, but not the Kirk, nor the People; who were so inraged thereat, that when the Dean of *Edenbourgh* began to Read the Common Prayer in St. *Giles* Church with his Surplice on *July* 13. the Council, Bishops, Lords, and Magistrates, being present; the Women, and then the ordinary sort of men, made such a disturbance and noise with Cursing, Clapping their hands, and so great Rudeness, that nothing could be heard, but their Clamours; upon which the Bishop of *Edenbourgh*, who was to preach that day, stept up into the Pulpit to reprove them; which increasing their Fury, they assault him with such a shower of Stones, Seats, Stools, Cudgels, and whatever else was near; that his life was much indangered thereby, and the Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews* Lord Chancellor, interposing

terposing, was like to have been as rudely handled, had not the Provost, Bayliffs and others with much trouble turned these Rioters out of the Church, the Dean then proceeding to read the *Service Book*, though not without great noise from the Multitude about the Church. The like disturbance happened in other places, but in the Afternoon the *Book* was again read without much trouble; after which some of the Disturbers were seized and punished, but with no great Severity; and the Ministers were promised Protection and Maintenance in Reading it; so that all at present seemed calm and quiet, till after Harvest; at which time such a confluence of People came to *Edenbourgh*, as gave just cause to the Council to fear an Insurrection; to prevent which they Issued out several Proclamations, *That no Church matters should be resolved on, but that all persons depart home, unless they can shew some cause to the Council, upon pain of Rebellion.*

Yet this was so little regarded by the People, that the B. of *Galloway* going the next day to the *Council* was pursued and assaulted by them even to the *Council Chamber*; and being with difficulty got in, the House was presently incompassed, and his Person peremptorily demanded; upon which those within required Aid of the Provost and Council of *Edenbourgh*; but their Condition was as bad, being likewise beset in their Town house by the People, who would not let them go out till they had subscribed, 1. *To joyn in Opposition to the Service Book, and in Petitioning to that purpose.* 2. *To restore two or three of their silenced Ministers.* Which being related to the Council, the Lord *Traquair* and another, went in Person to the Town House, where they found the Tumult somewhat quieted by those Concessions; but in coming back, they were furiously

assaulted in the *Grass-street*, and the L. *Traquair* was trodden under foot, his Hat, Cloak, and white Wand, was taken away, and himself hailed to the Council House: The Lords whereof weighing their own danger, sent secretly to some of those Noblemen and Gentlemen who disliked the *Service Book*, and were then assembled in the common cause against it; by whom they were safely guarded through the multitude, to their several Houses.

And now judging themselves secure, they make Proclamation *for breaking up all Conventions and Keeping the Peace*, which had the contrary effect. Two Petitions being presented to them. One from the Common sort of Men, Women and Children, the other in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ministry against the Service Book and Canons: these Petitions were sent to the King, who being offended therewith, adjourned the Term to *Stirling*, and by Proclamation forbid upon extreamest Penalty, such Tumultuous Meetings: Against which Proclamation the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindsey*, and divers others, made Protestation; and in pursuance thereof they set up Four Tables or Committees, 1. Of the Nobility. 2. Of the Gentry. 3. Of the Barons. 4. Of the Ministry; to prepare Matters for the *General Council*, consisting of several Commissioners taken out of the other.

The next year 1638, the *Scots* entred into a *Solemn League and Covenant* to preserve the Religion there profest, resolving to maintain it; and to that purpose, they sent for General *Lesly* and other Officers from beyond Sea, providing themselves likewise with Arms and Ammunition; whilst D. *Hamilton*, who was appointed to allay these heats and Distempers, seemed secretly to foment them, by spending a great deal of time in Declarations,

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Proclamations, Meſſages and Letters; and afterwards makes ſuch Propoſitions to the *Confederates* about calling a *General Aſſembly*, as were very diſtaſteful to the *Covenanters* and increaſed their Fury: Whereupon *Hamilton* obtained of the King the Sole and Unlimited Power of Managing that Affair, and then acquainted them with a Declaration which he had procured of the King; *That he did diſcharge the Service Book, Book of Canons, and high Commiſſion and likewiſe did annul and reſcind all Acts for eſtabliſhing them, and did diſcharge the urging the Practice of the Five Articles of Perth: and that all Perſons whomſoever ſhall be liable to the Cenſure of Parliament, General Aſſembly, or any other Judicatories; according to the Nature of the Offence, That the Ancient Confeſſion of Faith and Band annexed, ſhall be ſubſcribed and received as in K. James time:* That a *General Aſſembly* be holden at *Glaſcow*, *Nov.* 21. 1638, and a *Parliament* at *Edenbourgh* May, 15. 1639. All former Offences to be pardoned, and a *General Faſt* appointed.

This Declaration being publiſhed, the Marqueſs and Council ſubſcribed the *Covenanters Confeſſion of Faith*, &c. yet ſtill ſome matter remained for a *Proteſtation*, which was read by one *Johnſon*; wherein the People were exhorted to conſider with whom they had to deal: and exceptions were made againſt Biſhops, and their Voting in the *Aſſembly*: After this they Elect Commiſſioners for the *Aſſembly*, whom they moved to cite the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to appear there, as Guilty Perſons; which being refuſed, they themſelves preſent a Bill of Complaint againſt them to the Presbytery at *Edenbourgh*, who accordingly warned them to appear at the next *General Aſſembly*: At their Meeting the Biſhops ſent in a Proteſtation againſt their

their *Assembly*, which the Covenanters would not vouchsafe to read; but presumed to forbid Six Lords of the Privy Council to sit in their *Assembly*, though nominated by the King. His Majesty having notice of their proceedings, as to the Bishops, and other matters, ordered their *Assembly* to be dissolved, which was done accordingly *Nov.* 21. 1638; and the Covenanters immediately according to their usual method, Issued out a *Protestation* against it, and likewise declared 6 former Meetings (which were opposite to their ways) to be void and of none Effect; and soon after they abolished *Episcopacy*, and then prepared for a War, as being sensible that the King would maintain the Rights of the Bishops, and would likewise strictly call them to Account for their late Transactions.

About this time a Letter was sent by the *Scots* to the King of *France*, to implore his Assistance, Signed by several of the Nobility. The King of *England* prepares an Army for *Scotland*, with which in the year 1639 he marcheth in Person into the North; but while he stayed at *York* some of the *Scots* Nobility tampered with the *English*, telling them that the ruin of the *Scots* would enable the King to be more severe toward his *English* Subjects; by which Intelligence and Correspondence it was evident that the *English* had no mind to Fight, though their Army was much stronger than the *Scots*; whereupon by the Mediation of some Persons a Treaty of Peace was begun, and soon finished; wherein it was agreed, That His Majesty should publish a Declaration, whereby all should be confirmed which his Commissioners had promised in his Name, That a *General Assembly* and a *Parliament* be held at *Edenbourgh* in a short time: And lastly, That upon disbanding their Forces, dissolving

diſſolving their Councils, and reſtoring the King to his Forts and Caſtles, *&c.* the King was to recall his Fleet and Forces, and make reſtitution of their Goods ſince the Breach.

The Kings Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed, but the *Covenanters* ſet forth another *Proteſtation*, for adhereing to there *Aſſembly* at *Glaſco*, and their *Covenant*; whereupon the King, who intended to be preſent at their *General Aſſembly*, not finding the *Scots* punctual in performing Articles, and perceiving they would treat of ſome matters diſtaſteful to him, goes into *England*; after which the *Aſſembly* ſate at *Edenbourgh*, and aboliſhed *Epiſcopacy*, the *Liturgy*, *High Commiſſion*, and *Book of Canons*; and then made ſeveral demands of the King of a various naturo.

His Majeſty underſtanding how things went, and that the *Scots* levyed Taxes and prepared Arms, he commanded by his Commiſſioner, the Earl of *Traquair*, that their *Parliament* ſhould be Adjourned for ſome time; but the *Covenanters* declared againſt this Command, and ſent a Remonſtrance to the King; and afterward *Hamilton* and *Traquair*, likewiſe came to *London*, where there were ſuch proceedings, as did the more exaſperate the jarring parties againſt each other.

In this year 1639, a *Spaniſh* Fleet of near Seventy Sail, and Twenty five thouſand Men, deſigned to be landed at *Dunkirk* for the reliefe of *Flanders*, were ſet upon by the *Dutch* in the *Downs*, and Eleven of them taken and ſent into *Holland*; three periſhed upon the Coaſt of *France*, one near *Dover*, and five were ſunk in the Fight. What the real intent of this Fleet was, is yet uncertain; for it ſeemed unlikely that Twenty five thouſand Men ſhould be ſent only for a Recruit, and the Admi-

rals

rals refusing to shew his Commission, when required thereto by the King, makes it seem yet more suspicious.

The *Scots* Commissioners having delivered their Message, return home to *Edinburgh*, *Nov.* 1. 1639. the same night that a great part of the Castle Walls fell down, and the Anniversary of the King's Birth day. A while after the King sent the Lord *Estrich*, and others, to repair the Walls, who were resisted by the *Covenanters*, as not judging the Lord *Estrich* to be a fit Governour for the Castle, which Office was designed him by the King. The King being hereat extreamly offended, resolved, since fair means would not prevail, to force the *Scots* to reason, and to that end considers how to make provisions for Men and Money; and calling a secret Cabinet Council, consisting only of Archbishop *Laud*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Duke *Hamilton* (who drove on his own particular interest) it was concluded. *That for the King's supply a Parliament must be called in* England, *and another in* Ireland; but because the Debates of Parliament would take up some time, it was resolved, that the Lords should subscribe to lend the King money. The Earl of *Strafford* subscribed Twenty thousand pound, the Duke of *Richmond* as much, but *Hamilton* pretended poverty, preserving his money for other uses; the rest of the Lords, Judges, Officers, and other Dependants, and many of the Gentry, yea, even several *Popish* Recusants, contributed according to their ability.

The *Scots* on the other side fore-seeing the storm, prepared for their own Defence, making Treaties in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Holland* and *Poland*; and the *Jesuits*, who are never idle, did likewise endeavour to foment the differences; to which

end

end *Con* the Popes *Nuncio*, Sir *Toby Matthews*, *Read* and *Maxwell*, two *Scots*, endeavoured to perſwade the diſcontented People, *That the King deſigned to inſlave them to his will and pleaſure.* Which practices of theirs were diſcovered by *Andreas Habernfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, who declared, That many of the Nobility of *England*, and chief Favourites at Court, were conſenting to theſe Tranſactions, and particularly the Earl and Counteſs of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebank*, and *Endymion Porter*. *Con* alſo performed the part of a Firebrand, as all his Succeſſors, the Popes Nuncio's that came after him, did likewiſe; and had formerly offered a Cardinals Cap to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Popes Name.

In the year 1640, and the Sixteenth of the King, a Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 13. in which the Earl of *Strafford* was highly honoured for his good ſervice in *Ireland*, in obtaining four Subſidies, to maintain Ten thouſand Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horſe. And that *England* might follow this Example, the King tells the Parliament, that if they would ſupply him, ſo as to ſuppreſs the Inſolencies of the *Scots*, he would acquit his claim to *Shipmoney*, and give ſatisfaction to their juſt Demands. By which Propoſals the Parliament were ſenſible of the Kings Neceſſities, and therefore required ſatisfaction, 1. *For clearing the Property of the Subject.* 2. *For eſtabliſhing the True Religion.* 3. *For Priviledges of Parliament.*

But whilſt they were debating whether the Grievances of the People or the Kings Supply ſhould be firſt conſidered, and Matters were in an hopeful poſture, Secretary *Vane*, either accidentally, or on purpoſe, overthrew all at once, by declaring

ring that the King required Twelve Subſidies whereas he at that time only deſired Six; which ſo much inraged the Houſe, and made things ſo ill that by the Advice of the *Junto* the Parliament was diſſolved, having only ſate Twenty two days; however the Privy Councel likewiſe adviſed their Diſſolving, being aſſured the heats in the *Houſe of Commons* were ſo great, that they intended that very day to have voted againſt the War with *Scotland*; whereby the King would have been in a worſe condition than before their ſitting.

About the ſame time a Convocation of Biſhops ſate, with Commiſſion to make ſuch Canons as they judged for the peace of the Church; and amongſt other things, they impoſed an Oath called *&c.* (*Et cetera*) as an Anticovenant againſt the *Scots*; which becauſe it occaſioned much difference, may not be unfitly inſerted.

I A. B. *Do ſwear that I do approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline or Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *as containing all things neceſſary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by my ſelf, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any* Popiſh *Doctrine, contrary to that ſo eſtabliſhed; nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the Government of this Church by Archbiſhops, Deans, and Arch Deacons —— &c.* (Et cetera, *and ſo forth*) *as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever to ſubject it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions of the See of* Rome: *And all theſe things do I plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to the plain and common ſenſe or underſtanding of the ſame words, without any Equivocation mental Evaſion, or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Chriſtian.* So help me God in Jeſus Chriſt. This

Oath

Oath was impoſed upon all Miniſters, and gave great Offence. This was the chief buſineſs of this Convocation, which ended *May* 26, 1640.

Arch Biſhop *Laud* by his earneſt proceedings againſt Nonconformiſts and ſuch as were called *Puritans*, and by his ſtrict enjoyning of Ceremonies, eſpecially reviving old Ceremonies, which had not been lately obſerved, procured much hatred to himſelf from the People, particularly the *Londiners*, who had a particular diſguſt againſt him, for his ſeverity upon Mr. *Burton*, *Pryn*, and *Baſtwick*; inſomuch, that upon *May* 9, 1640, a Paper was fixed upon the *Royal Exchange*, inciting the Apprentices to riſe and ſack his Houſe at *Lambeth* the Monday after; which they were the more inclined to do, becauſe it was reported that he was the chief inſtigator of the King to diſſolve the laſt Parliament; but the Arch Biſhop had notice of their Deſign, and provided accordingly; however, upon Monday at midnight about Five Hundred of them beſet his Houſe, and endeavoured to enter, but were repulſed, and forced to depart; having in ſome meaſure vented their Spleen in words, and breaking his Glaſs-Windows. The next day many of them were apprehended and impriſoned, but three days after they were forcibly reſcued from thence by their Companions, who broke open the Priſon doors; for which one of the Ring-leaders was drawn, hanged and quartered, and his head and quarters ſet upon *London*-Bridge.

The King grew daily more offended againſt the *Scots*, and calls a Select *Junto* to conſult about them, where the Earl of *Strafford* delivered his mind in ſuch Terms as were afterward made uſe of to his diſtruction; War againſt them was reſolved on, and Money was to be procured one way or other;

ther; the City of *London* was invited to lend, bu
refused, and pleaded poverty, being distasted
seems at some proceedings in the *Star Chamber*,
bout their Plantation of *London Derry* in *Irela*
which was judged to be forfeited for some alledg
misdemeanors, and the Undertakers fined; yet t
Citizens were willing to offer a large Sum, for th
building a Magnificent Pallace for the King in S
James's *Park*, which took no effect: The Gene
contributed indifferent freely; so that with the
Assistance the Royal Army was compleated, th
King himself being *Generalissimo*, the Earl of N
thumberland General, and the Earl of *Strafford* Le
tenant General; *Northumberland* falls sick, and ther
fore the King takes the Command upon himself, an
sends away part of the Army, Horse and Foot u
der the Lord *Conway* into the North. *July* 20
1640. the Queen was delivered of a Son, who w
Christened *Henry*, afterward Created Duke of *Gl*
cester. In the mean time the L. *Conway* had bu
ill Success, for having drawn about 1200 Horse, an
2000 Foot to secure the Passes upon the Riv
Tyne, the *Scotch* Army under their Gener
Lesly advanced thither, better provided then before
and *August* 27, *Lesly* desired leave of the L. *Conway*
for his whole Army to pass to the King with the
Petition, which was denied: whereupon abou
300 *Scotch* Horse attempted to pass the River, bu
were beaten back by the *English* Musqueteirs, wh
were placed under a Breast-work.

Lesly comes on with his Horse, and charges Com
missary General *Wilmot*, who maintained the ground
very stoutly till overborn with multitude and Canon
they were put to a disorderly Retreat, both Horse
and Foot; upon which the L. *Conway* hastes to the
King with the unwelcome News; Sir *Jacob Astley*
Governo

Governor of *Newcastle* finding himself unable to defend the place, deserts it, sinking the great Guns in the River, whereby *Newcastle* and *Durham*, came in a short time into the hands of the *Scots*. And now *Strafford* comes up, with whom the King retreats to *York* and stays there, while *Strafford*, who was now sole Commander, charges the whole miscarriage upon *Conway*, who as stoutly denies it.

The King had formerly declared the *Scots* to be Rebels and Traytors by Proclamation, and commanded that publick Prayers should be put up against them in all Churches, but at this time he is contented to treat with them; and to that end he receives a Petition from them complaining of their Grievances: To which he answers by his Secretary of *Scotland*, that he expects their particular demands, which he receives in three days, all tending to require a Parliament to be called in *England*, without which there could be no satisfactory redress for them; they had likewise before their March into *England published* a Declaration, called, *The Intentions of the Army*, viz. *Not to lay down Arms, till the Reformed Religion were setled in both Nations upon sure grounds, and the Causes and Abbettors of their present Troubles, that is Arch-Bishop* Laud *and the Earl of* Strafford, *were brought to publick Justice in Parliament.* At the same time Twelve *English* Peers, that is, the Earls of *Bedford*, *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Mulgrave*, *Bristol*, *Bullingbrook*, *Say* and *Seal*, *Mandevil*, *Howard*, *Brook* and *Paget* drew up a Petition which they delivered to the King, for the sitting of the Parliament: After which divers others were presented to the same purpose from the City of *London*, and several other parts of the Kingdom; all centring in this, that nothing could relieve the Pressures of the Kingdom but a Parliament.

To

To this the King condescends in part, giving hop
likewise of further satisfaction ere long; and
the present Summons the Lords to appear at *Yo*
Sep. 24. which they did, and upon the first day
their meeting it was agreed, That a Parliame
should be called to meet *November* 3 following, a
then (for the relief of the *North* sorely suffering u
der *Leslies* Army, the Bishoprick of *Durham* be
then taxed 360 *l.* and *Northumberlnnd* 300 *l.* a day
it was resolved, that a Treaty should be set on Fo
and that Sixteen *English* Lords, should meet wi
as many *Scots*, and *York* was proposed for the pla
of Treaty, which the *Scotch* Commissioners refus
as not judging it safe by reason of the presence
the Earl of *Strafford*, who hath proclaimed the
Traytors in *Ireland*, and was now chief Commande
of the Kings Army, and a Capital Enemy to the
Nation, and against whom they had matter of hig
Complaint; therefore it was concluded to be hel
at *Rippon*, where among other things it was agreed
that the *Scotch* Army should be maintained by th
English, till the Treaty was ended, and peace fo
cured; that there should be a safe Convoy for a
Letters between the *Scots* and the Parliament o
England. The first of these Articles seemed unrea
sonable and dishonourable to the *English* Nation
and the Earl of *Strafford* was so offended thereat,
that he desired leave of the King to give them Ba
tel, and *was willing (as he writ to Arch-Bishop Laud*
to undertake upon the Peril of his Head with his Arm
of English Grashoppers to beat those Sons of Anak home
again, for so much Superiour were the *Scots* then
accounted to the *English* as to matter of Souldiers;
but *October* 16. the *English* Commanders, whether
through Fear, Favour, or out of a Political Maxim
not to fight against the *Scots*, condescended to Ar
ticles

icles of Agreement, which were afterward ſigned by the King himſelf.

This Treaty of *Rippon* was but previous to another of higher Importance at *London* for a general concluding and making up all differences between the King and his Subjects of *Scotland*; during which Treaty *James* Earl of *Montroſs* made ſeveral Applications to the King, and by Letters offered his ſervice to him, teſtifying his diſſlike of the *Scotiſh* Proceedings; but theſe his Letters were ſaid to have been ſecretly taken out of the Kings Pocket, and conveyed to the *Covenanters* by the means of *Hamilton*; who underſtanding *Montroſs* his deſign, uſed all means to render him odious to the People, and ſo unſerviceable to the King.

And now the time approached for the ſitting of the Parliament, who accordingly met *November* 3. 1640, which was looked upon by Arch-Biſhop *Laud* as a fatal day for Summoning of Parliaments, in reſerenoe to Church matters; the Parliament in King *Henry* the Eighths time, which pulled down Abbies and Monaſteries, being likewiſe Aſſembled upon *November* 3. Whereupon he adviſed the King for lucks ſake to put off their meeting for 2, or 3 dayes, but the King not minding any ſuch Obſervations, did not regard it.

To give ſome Account of the temper of thoſe times it may not be amiſs to repeat the words of a Perſon of Honour, who was then a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and hath lately publiſhed ſome Paſſages concerning that Parliament.

Never Parliament (ſaith he) was aſſembled when the People were in an higher diſcontent then at this time, ſuch a general Diffidence there was, as they thought themſelves ſure of nothing; the increaſe of Ceremonies made them fear the approach

'proach of a Religion hateful to them; the l
'buſineſs of *Ship-money*, together with ſome Im
'ſitions, without the conſent of Parliament, ca
'them to apprehend the loſs of Property in t
'Eſtates, and they had little hope of Redreſs
'Parliaments, becauſe his then Majeſty had b
'ſo unhappy as to be put upon a ſudden Diſſolu
'of all Parliaments formerly by him called: T
'wanted not Perſons ill diſpoſed, and ſeditious
'trumpet theſe things in the ears of the gener
'ty, whereby they incenſed them ſo far, as there
'they fonnd means to raiſe a Power againſt th
'Soveraign.

Mr. *William Lenthal* was Choſen Speaker of
Houſe of *Commons*, and the King in a Speech t
them that the *Scottiſh* Troubles were the Cauſe
their preſent Meeting, and therefore requires th
to conſider of the moſt expedient means for ca
ing them out, and then promiſes that he will he
tily and clearly concurr with them for the ſatis
ing their juſt Grievances: After which, he ga
them an Account of his want of Money for t
Maintaining of his Army, and how diſhonoura
it would be to the *Engliſh* Nation, if his Arm
ſhould be disbanded before the *Scots* were put o
of the Kingdom; and deſired them to conſider
the Oppreſſion of the *Northern* Countreys during t
Treaty.

It was ill reſented by many that the King ſhou
call the *Scots* Rebels, whereupon he took occaſio
to tell them that he muſt needs call them Rebel
as long as they have an Army which did invade En
land. The *Commons* then Voted down all Mono
polies, and all ſuch Members as had any benefit b
them were expelled out of the Houſe; Complai
was made in the Houſe of Lords againſt Sir *Willia*

Peeche

Beecher one of the Clerks of the Council, for violating their Priviledges, in ſearching the Earl of *Warwicks* and the Lord *Brooks* Studies, Cabinets and Pockets, upon the diſſolving the laſt Parliament; upon which he was committed Priſoner to the *Fleet*, though he pleaded the Command of the Secretary of State for his ſo doing. The Earl of *Strafford* is Impeached of High Treaſon by the *Commons* in the Houſe of Lords, whereupon he is ſequeſtred from the Houſe and likewiſe his Friend Sir. *George Ratcliff* is ſent for out of *Ireland* by a Serjeant at Arms: In the mean time the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was Priſoner in the *Tower* is releaſed; and likewiſe Mr. *Pryn* and Mr. *Burton*, who are brought in great Triumph to *London*; and *December* 3. they preſented their Petition againſt their Proſecutors.

And now the *Papiſts* began to fear a Cloud, for Juſtice *Howard* was to deliver up a Catalogue of all Recuſants within the Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, to prevent which he was ſtabbed by one Mr. *John James* in *Weſtminſter hall*; for which he was impriſoned in the *Gate-houſe* in order to a more ſevere puniſhment: But Sir *Francis Windebank* Secretary of State, fearing to be called to Account by the Parliament for reprieving *Jeſuits* and *Prieſts*, which he knew would be produced againſt him, if not worſe matters; fled privately into *France*. *December* 7th the *Commons* Voted *Ship-money*, with the Opinion of the Judges thereupon, to be Illegal; and a Charge of *High Treaſon* was ordered to be drawn up againſt eight of them; and they reſolved to begin with the Lord Keeper *Finch*. *December* 11th Alderman *Pennington* and ſome hundreds of Citizens preſented a Petition, ſubſcribed by 15000 Hands, againſt Church Diſcipline and Ceremonies,

and

and a while after the Houſe of Commons Voted *That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation have no power to make Canons or Laws without Parliaments; and that the Canons are againſt the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, the Kings Prerogative, the Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments and tend to Faction and Sedition.*

In purſuance hereof a Charge was ordered to be drawn up againſt Arch-biſhop *Laud* as the principal framer of thoſe Canons, and other Delinquencies; which Impeachment was ſeconded with another from the *Scotch* Commiſſioners; upon which he was committed to the Black Rod, and 10 weeks after Voted Guilty of High Treaſon and ſent to the Tower, The *Scots* likewiſe prefer a charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford* then in Cuſtody, requiring Juſtice againſt them both, as the great Incendiaries, and Diſturbers of Church and State, and Sr *George Ratcliff* the Earls Boſom Friend, had Articles alſo drawn againſt him to this purpoſe.

That he had conſpired with the Earl to bring Ireland *under an Arbitrary Government, and to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws, and to bring an Army from* Ireland *to ſubdue the Subjects of* England. *That he perſwaded the Earl to uſe Regal Power and to deprive the Subjects of their Liberties and Properties. That he countenanced Papiſts, and built Monaſteries, to alienate the Affections of the* Iriſh *from* England. *That he withdrew the Subjects of* Scotland *from their King.* And laſtly, *That to preſerve himſelf and the Earl of* Strafford, *he laboured to ſubvert the Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament in* Ireland.

The Lord Keeper *Finch* was the next Perſon deſigned to be cenſured. and notwithſtanding a Speech made in his own Vindication, he was Voted a Traytor upon ſeveral Accounts; and among the

the reſt, *for ſoliciting, perſwading, and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinions for raiſing Ship-money, and for ſeveral ill Offices done in moving the King to Diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and cauſing the publiſhing the Kings Declaration thereupon.* Next day he was accuſed before the Lords, but he foreſaw the Storm, and went over into *Holland*.

The Parliament having now removed their Enemies, and increaſing in Reputation, were deſigning a Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*; for promoting which, Petitions came from divers places, one whereof was ſubſcribed with 800 Hands directly againſt *Epiſcopacy*, which the King took notice of; and calling both Houſes together, tells them, *Of their ſlowneſs and the charge of Two Armies in the Kingdom, and that he would have them avoid two Rocks, the one about the Hierachy of Biſhops, which he was willing to Reform but not to alter; The other concerning frequent Parliaments, which he liked well, but not to give his Power to* Sheriffs *and* Conſtables.

About this time one *Goodman* a *Popiſh* Prieſt, condemned at the Seſſions in *London*, was reprieved by the King; upon which both Houſes petitioned to know who were the Inſtruments of it; and receiving an unſatisfactory Anſwer, they Remonſtrated againſt the Toleration of *Papiſts*, and the *Popes* Nuncio *Roſetti*, and this *Goodman*, whom they deſired might be left to the Juſtice of the Law, To this the King anſwers, *That the increaſe of Popery and Papiſts in his Dominions, is extreamly againſt his mind, and that he would uſe all poſſible means for the reſtraining of it: As for the Popes* Nuncio Roſetti, *he had no Commiſſion, but only to preſerve Correſpondence between the Queen and the Pope, which was allowed her by the Articles of Marriage, howe-*

ver he had prevailed with her to remove him and it contented to remit the particular Case of Goodman *to both Houses.*

The *Scots* had been now quartered in *England* five months, during which a Cessation had been concluded at *Rippon*, but the full Pacification was reserved for *London*, where Commissioners sate on both Parties to hear the Demands of the *Scots*, and to make answer thereunto. After which the *Scots* presented the great Account of their Charges, which was Five hundred fourteen thousand, one hundred twenty eight pounds nine Shillings, besides the loss of their Nation, which was Four hundred and forty thousand pounds. This Reckoning startled the *English* Commissioners, till the *Scots* told them, *They did not give in that Account as expecting a Total Reparation of their Charges and Losses, but were content to bear a part of it, hoping for the rest, from the Justice and Kindness of* England. There was some opposition made to the Demands, however Moneys were raised for the present from the City of *London*, for the Supply of both the *Northern* Armies, as the Parliament had done once before.

At this time a Match was propounded between the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, Eldest Daughter to the King, which his Majesty liked well of, and communicated it to the Parliament; with whom it found an unanimous and general Reception, in regard of the Alliance to be thereupon concluded with the *States General*; and likewise that he was of the same *Protestant Religion* with *England*, so that the Marriage was soon concluded.

Presently after four Members of the Commons delivered a Message to the Lords of a *Popish Design* of

of Levying an Army of Fifteen thousand in *Lancashire*, and Eight thousand in *Ireland*, and that the main promoters thereof were the Earls of *Strafford* and *Worcester*.

In *February* Sir *Robert Berkly*, one of the Judges about *Ship-money*, was accused of High Treason, and committed Prisoner to the Black Rod. In this Month the King passed that Act for a *Triennial Parliament*, and to let them know what value he put upon this great favour his Majesty told the Two Houses, *That hitherto they had gone on in those things which concerned themselves, and now he expected they should proceed upon what concerned him.*

The King then likewise signed the Bill of *Subsidies*, which gave them such universal content, that Sir *Edward Littleton* Lord Keeper, was ordered *To return the Humble Thanks of Both Houses to his Majesty* at *Whitehall*. Upon which there were Bonefires and Bells ringing in and about *London*, in the same manner as formerly upon granting the *Petition of Right*.

March 1, 1640, Archbishop *Laud* upon an Accusation of High Treason by the *Commons*, was committed to the Tower: And now *Episcopacy* it self was called in question, and though the Lord *Digby* made a witty and weighty Speech in Defence of it, and Archbishop *Usher* gave his Judgment for the Moderation and Emendation of it and the Liturgy, not the Extirpation thereof; yet the Wings of Episcopacy were shrewdly clipt, for *March* 10 the Commons Voted, *That no Bishop should have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial power in the* Star Chamber, *nor be concerned in any Temporal matters; and that no Clergy-man should be a Justice of Peace.*

Upon *Monday March* 26, 1640. the Earl of *Straffords* Tryal began in *Weſtminſter-hall*, the King, Queen, and Prince being preſent; and the *Commons* likewiſe being there as a Committee at the managing their Accuſation; the Earl of *Arundel* was Lord High Steward, and the Earl of *Lindſey* Lord High Conſtable, the Earl of *Strafford* though he had but ſhort warning, yet had gotten his Defence ready againſt the time. The Accuſation was managed by Mr. *Pym*, conſiſting of Twenty eight Articles, to moſt of which the Earl made Particular Replies.

But the *Commons* were reſolved to proſecute him to the utmoſt, and had therefore procured the Parliament of *Ireland* to proſecute him there alſo, as guilty of High Treaſon; which being unexpectedly produced, extorted from the Earl this paſſionate Expreſſion, *That there was a Conſpiracy againſt him, to take away his Life.* At which the *Commons* cryed out againſt him, *That ſtanding Impeached of High Treaſon, he durſt accuſe the Parliament of two Kingdoms of Conſpiracy againſt him.* But beſides all theſe, certain notes were produced againſt him, which were taken by Sir *H. Vane* in a cloſe Committee of ſelect Counſellors, whom the King had choſen to conſult about his ſecond Expedition againſt the *Scots*; out of which it was alledged againſt the Earl, *That he had given the King advice to borrow an Hundred thouſand pound of the City of* London, *To levy Ship-money vigorouſly; and that his Majeſty having tryed the Affections of his People, was abſolved and looſed from all Rules of Government, and might do what power would admit; and having an Army in* Ireland, *might Imploy it for the reducing of this Kingdom, which he was ſure could not hold out five months: And* London *being full of the Nobility, the* Commiſſion of

of Array *was to be ſet on foot, and all Oppoſers thereof to be ſeverely dealt with.*

To this the Earl replyed, 'That he conceived 'it lawful for a Privy Counſellor to have freedom 'of Voting with others; and as to the matter of 'the *Engliſh* Army, he thought that the ſingle Te-'ſtimony of one man (Secretary *Vane*) was not of 'Validity in Law, much leſs in Life and Death, and 'that the Depoſitions of Secretary *Vane* was doubt-'ful, as appeared by ſeveral Examinations, and 'that there were preſent at the Debate but eight 'Privy Counſellors, whereof two were not to be 'produced, and four others declared upon their 'Honours that they never heard him ſpeak thoſe 'words, or any like them; and laſtly that if he had 'ſpoken them (which he yet granted not) that 'the word *This* Kingdom, could not imply *England*, 'the debate being concerning *Scotland*, there being 'not the leaſt intention of Landing the *Iriſh* Army 'in *England*; and concluded his Defence with tel-'ling the Lords, that he was accuſed as guilty of 'Treaſon for endeavouring to ſubvert the Funda-'mental Laws of the Land, but it ſeemed ſtrange 'to him that it ſhould be Treaſon together which 'was not Treaſon in any part; and laſtly, deſired 'the Lords to conſider how their own Priviledges, 'and other Miniſters of State, would ſuffer by his 'Condemnation.

The *Commons* muſt now juſtifie their Charge by Law, to which end they produced the *Salvo* annexed to the Stat. of 25 *Ed.* 3. The words were theſe, *Becauſe all particular Treaſons could not be then defined; therefore what the Parliament ſhould declare to be Treaſon, in time to come ſhould be puniſhed as Treaſon*; And ſo this *Salvo* was to be the Ground-work of the *Bill of Attainder*. This being a point of Law, the Earl had Council allowed him, who anſwered

on his behalf, *That the Statute which they cited was but a Declarative and a Penal Law, and would no way admit of ſuch Conſequential and Inferential Conſtructions, and that this* Salvo *was repealed by an Act of Parliament in the Sixth of* Henry *the fourth.* And ſo the Court Adjourned without prefixing any time of Meeting; for the Commons proceeded to diſpatch their *Bill of Attainder*, and *April* 19, 1641 they Voted the Earl Guilty of High Treaſon, upon the Evidence of Secretary *Vane* and his Notes; And upon the 25th. they paſſed the Bill and ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence, to whom it ſeemed at firſt ſo perplext a buſineſs, that the Commons were forced to ſend Mr. *Saint John* the Kings Sollicitor, to confer with them about it, who gave them ſuch ſatisfaction, that thence forward they ſhewed greater propenſity to the Earls Condemnation.

In the mean time the Commons petitioned the King, 1. *To remove all Papiſts from Court.* 2. *For diſarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.* 3. *For diſbanding the* Iriſh *Army.* To which the King anſwered, 1. *They all knew what Legal Truſt the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he ſhall not need to ſay any thing to aſſure them that he ſhall uſe it ſo, as there ſhall be no juſt cauſe of ſcandal.* 2. *As for the ſecond he is content it ſhall be done by Law. And for the laſt, he had entred into Conſultation about it, finding many difficulties therein, and doth ſo wiſh the diſbanding of all Armies, as he did conjure them ſpeedily and heartily to joyn with him in diſbanding thoſe two here,* Scots *and* Engliſh.

The Houſe of Commons having finiſhed their *Bill of Attainder* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and the King fearing the Concluſion, and being willing to do ſome good Office to him, His Majeſty *May*

1, 1641,

1, 1641, calls both Houſes together, and in a Speech tells them, *That he had been preſent at the hearing of that great Cauſe, and that in his Conſcience, poſitively he could not condemn him of High Treaſon, and yet could not clear him of miſdemeanours; but hoped a way might be found out to ſatisfie Juſtice and their fears without oppreſſing his Conſcience.* And ſo he diſmiſſed them to their great diſcontent, which was propagated ſo far, that *May* 3. near a Thouſand Citizens, moſt of them armed with Swords, Cudgels, and Staves, came thronging down to *Weſtminſter*, crying out for *Juſtice againſt the Earl of* Strafford; eſpecially applying themſelves to the Earl of *Montgomery*, Lord Chamberlain by whoſe perſwaſions, and promiſes their fury was partly abated: However they poſted upon the Gate at *Weſtminſter* a Liſt of the Names of thoſe who would have acquitted the Earl, whom they ſtiled *Staffordians*.

The Parliament being Informed that ſome endeavours were uſed, to raiſe a Diſguſt in the *Engliſh* Northern Army againſt their Proceedings, they now enter into a National Proteſtation to maintain with Life, Power, and Eſtate the True Reformed *Proteſtant* Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations: Which was ordered to be printed and publiſhed through the Kingdom.

May 5. The Lords acquainted the Commons, *That they thought it the ſafeſt courſe to lay by the* Bill of Attainder, *becauſe it brought in the King for Judge*: And the next day they debated the ſeveral Articles of his Impeachment, and voted the Earl guilty of High Treaſon upon Two of them, that is the 15th. *For Levying of moneys in* Ireland *by force in a Warlike manner*; And the 16th, *For Impoſing an Oath upon the Subjects of* Ireland.

The Commons had now finiſhed a Bill, *For the Continuance of the Parliament*; which having paſſed the Lords, was tendred to the King to be ſigned; together with the *Bill of Attainder*, His Majeſty anſwered, That on Monday following he would ſatisfie them; and on the Sunday before, the King ſpent the whole day in conſulting about the Earl of *Strafford* with the Judges and Biſhops: The Judges told him, *That in point of Law (according to the Oath made by* Sir H. Vane *of the Earls advice, to raiſe Horſe to awe this Nation) he was guilty of Treaſon.* In the evening the Five Biſhops, *viz.* of *Armagh*, *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, were called in to the King to ſatisfie his Conſcience about it, who all agreed, *That the King might ſhew mercy without any ſcruple, and that he could not condemn the Earl, if he did not think him Guilty*: This was to matter of Fact, but as to matter of Law, *It was to reſt in the Opinion of the Judges.*

Monday *May* 10. The King gives Commiſſion to ſeveral Lords to paſs Two Bills, one the *Bill of Attainder* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: The other, *For Continuing the Parliament during the pleaſure of both Houſes*; Which laſt Act was occaſioned for ſatisfying the *Scots*, who required Vaſt Sums of Money; and for disbanding both the Armies: whereby great Taxes were laid upon the People by Act of Parliament, which could not poſſibly be levied in a ſhort time, and therefore there needed a preſent Supply from the City of *London*, who (as it was alledged) would not part with their money, leaſt a Diſſolution of the Parliament ſhould happen before payment; upon which Account the King was preſſed to paſs this Act.

The ſame day the Bill was paſſed againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, the King ſent Sir *Dudley Carlton*, Secre-

Secretary of State, to acquaint the Earl with what was done, and the motives thereto, whereat the Earl was greatly astonisht; but the next day the King being troubled, writes a Letter with his own hand to the House of Lords, and sent it by the Prince of *Wales*, telling them, *That whereas Justice had been satisfied in his Condemnation, an intermixture of mercy would not now be unseasonable; and therefore he desired them, that if it might be done without any discontent to the People, the Earl might be permitted to fulfil the Natural Course of his Life in close Imprisonment, sequestred from all Publick affairs, provided he never attempted to make an Escape; however he thought it a work of Charity to repreive him till Saturday.* But nothing could be obtained in favour of him, but that the Lords said, *Their Intention was to be suitors to His Majesty to shew favour to his innocent Children, and that whatever provision himself had made for them, it might be confirmed.*

Some Designs were said to have been laid for his Escape, however *May* 12, 1641, the Earl of *Strafford* was conveyed from the Tower by a Guard consisting of the Trained Bands, Marshals men, Sheriffs Officers, and Warders of the Tower. Before him went his Gentleman-Usher bare headed, and he himself followed, accompanied with the Archbishop of *Armagh* and others. As he went along he passed by Arch-bishop *Lauds* Lodging, and spying him at the Window, he called to him for his Prayers and his Blessing; but the Bishop at the sight of him was so surpriz'd that for some time he could not recollect himself, and being reprehended by his Friends of an undecent Pusillanimity, He Replyed; *That he doubted not but when that bitter Cup should come to his turn, he should taste it with a most Christian Courage.*

The Earl being come to the Scaffold upon Tow-
er-hill, addreſt himſelf to the Arch-biſhop of Ar-
magh to this Effect, *That he was come to pay the la*
Debt he owed to Sin, with a good hope of riſing aga
to Righteouſneſs: That he dyed willingly, forgave a
and ſubmitted to Juſtice: He profeſſed himſelf guilt
leſs as to the matter for which he dyed; He wiſhed a
proſperity to the King and People; and acquitted hi
from the guilt of his death, as having acted there
no otherwiſe then as conſtrained: He adviſed his Ad
verſaries to repent of their Violent Proceedings again
him; and telling them that he thought it a ſtrange wo
to write in Blood the beginning of Reformation and Se
tlement of the Kingdom. However he wiſhed that hi
Blood might reſt, and not cry againſt them. He de-
clared, *He died in the Faith of the Church of* England,
for whoſe happineſs he prayed, and concluded his Speec
with intreating the Spectators to pray for him. After
which he kneeled down to Prayer, and riſing up
again took his laſt leave of his Brother Sir *George*
Wentworth and all his Friends, ſending his Love to
his Wife, and his Bleſſing to his Children; with
a moſt ſtrict Injunction to His Onely Son, *Never to*
meddle with the Patrimony of the Church: And then
giving the ſign to the Executioner, his head was
ſevered from his body at the firſt ſtroke.

This was the end of that Great and Able Mi-
niſter of State, who is reported when he heard the
King had conſented to the *Bill of Attainder*, to
have liſt up his Eyes to Heaven, and clapping his
hand upon his heart, to have cried out (perhaps
in immitation of Cardinal *Woolſeys* Complaint) *Put*
not your Truſt in Princes nor in the Sons of Men, for in
them is no Salvation. And indeed it ſeemed very
hard that he ſhou'd be made guilty of High Trea-
ſon by a Bill framed on purpoſe, without former

Preſident

Preſident; and to which His Majeſties Conſent was in a manner extorted, and which he afterward bewailed with great remorſe of Conſcience, though it is ſaid the King was not ſo much convinced by any thing ſaid to him, but the chief Motive was a Letter from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded.

Sir, (*To ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience at Liberty*) *I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for the Preventing of ſuch miſchiefs as may happen by your refuſal to paſs the* Bill, *by this means to remove praiſed be God (I cannot ſay this accurſed but) this unfortunate* Thing, *forth of the way, towards that bleſſed Agreement which God I truſt ſhall forever eſtabliſh between You and Your Subjects. My conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God, then all the world can do beſide: To a willing man there is no injury done.*

His Character is Expreſſed by the King his Maſter, in his *Eikon Baſilike*, who ſaid, *He looked upon the Earl of* Strafford *as a Gentleman whoſe great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than aſhamed to Imploy him in the greateſt Affairs of State.*

The fall of this powerful man ſo ſtartled other great Officers of State, that ſeveral reſigned their places: About the ſame time ſome diſcontents aroſe between the Parliament and the Engliſh Army in the *North*, but a while after both Armies were disbanded. The payment of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* had been much queſtioned ſince 1628, but now the King at the requeſt of the Commons was content to relinquiſh his Claim to it, and afterward paſſed *a Bill for Pole-money, and two others for puzting down the Star chamber and High Commiſſion Courts*; which had proceeded with too much ſeverity, having ſo far out grown the power of the Law, that they would not be limited nor guided by it.

July

July 5. A Charge was brought into the Houſe of Commons againſt Dr. *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, being accuſed of ſome Treaſonable Miſdemeanors in his Dioceſs; who thereupon Voted him unworthy and unfit to hold or exerciſe any Office or Dignity in Church or State, and deſired the Lords to join with them, to requeſt the King for his Removal from his ſervice; and ſo he was committed to the *Tower*, and about the ſame time the Writs for *Ship money*, and all the Proceedings therein were by the Kings conſent adjudged void; and 5. of the Judges that gave their Opinions for it, were Impeached of high miſdemeanors; that is *Bramſton*, *Trevor*, *Weſton*, *Davenport*, and *Crawly*; and *Berkly* another of the Judges was accuſed for Treaſon, but no further proſecution was made therein.

Auguſt 6. Both the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Armies were disbanded, and four-days after the King went toward *Scotland* and was entertained with great demonſtrations of Affection by that Nation, and conferred ſeveral Places of Honour and Power upon divers of them; confirming likewiſe the Treaty between the two Nations by Act of Parliament.

October 23, 1641. A Horrid and Notorious Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was managed with ſuch ſecrecy, that it was not diſcovered till the night before it was to have been put in Execution; which was in divers places carried on with ſuch fury, that Two hundred thouſand *Engliſh* Men, Women, and Children, were in a ſhort ſpace barbarouſly murdered by all manner of moſt cruel torments that their Devliſh minds could invent. And this was chiefly occaſioned by the Inſtigation of the *Iriſh* Popiſh Prieſts, Monks, and Fryers, who every where declaimed loudly againſt the

the Proteſtants, ſaying, *That they were Hereticks, and not to be ſuffered any longer to live amongſt them, That it was no more ſin to kill one of them then to kill a dog; and that it was a mortal and unpardonable ſin to relieve or protect any of them.* Yea the Prieſts gave the Sacrament to divers of the *Iriſh*, upon Condition they ſhould ſpare neither Man, Woman, nor Child of the Proteſtants, ſaying, *That it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in their blood; and that they were worſe than Dogs; and if any of them died in the Quarrel, before their bodies were cold, their ſouls ſhould be in Heaven without ever calling in at* Purgatory *by the way.*

This bloody Rebellion happened in a time wherein the *Iriſh* had all the Priviledges and Liberty they could reaſonably expect, and the ancient hatred which the *Iriſh* had born to the *Engliſh* did now ſeem to be forgotten, Forty Years of Peace having compacted and cemented them together, both by Alliances and Marriages, which were all now miſerably broken and deſtroyed. The Caſtle of *Dublin*, wherein were Ten thouſand Arms, and all other Forts and Magazines in the Kingdom, were to have been ſurprized, and all the *Engliſh Proteſtants* that would not joyn with them, were to be murdered; but the ſeizing of the Caſtle was happily prevented by one *Owen Conally*, from ſome diſcourſe accidentally in a Tavern with one *Hugh Mac Mahon*, Grandſon to the Great Earl of *Tyrone*, the night before the intended Execution.

Upon this Diſcovery *Mac Mahon* and Lord *Mac-Guire*, were ſeized by the Lord Chief Juſtices of *Ireland*, and many Principal Conſpirators eſcaped that night out of *Dublin*, ſo was *Dublin* ſaved, that all *Ireland* might not be loſt in one day. But the horrid Deſign was paſt prevention as to the Gene-

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ral, for the Conſpirators were in Arms at the day appointed in all the Counties round about, and poor *Engliſh* Proteſtants daily arrived there, robbed and ſpoiled of all they had; giving lamentable Relations how their Houſes were ſeized, the Towns and Villages fired, and in all parts all manner of cruel Outrages and Villanies committed. The Lords Juſtices Sir *William Parſons* and Sir *John Burlace*, taking thoſe Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and Arming whom they could to defend themſelves, ſent Sir *Henry Spotſwood* to the King then in *Scotland*, with an Account of all that happened, who diſpatched Sir *James Stuart* with Inſtructions to the Lords of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, and to carry all the Money his preſent Stores would ſupply. He likewiſe moved the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being neareſt) for their aſſiſtance, but they excuſed it, becauſe *Ireland* was a dependant upon the Crown of *England*; but if the State of *England* would uſe any of their men for that ſervice, they would make Propoſitions in order to it. At the ſame time likewiſe, the King ſent Poſt to the Parliament of *England*, and a while after *Owen O Conally* the Firſt Diſcoverer of the Plot, came to *London* and brought Letters to the Earl of *Leiceſter* (who was choſen Deputy, but not yet gone over) wherein the Lords Juſtices deſired ſome Reward might be given him; upon which the Parliament Voted him a Gift of 500 *l.* and an Annuity of 200 *l.* a year, and at a Conference of both Houſes they paſſed ſeveral Votes for the Relief of *Ireland*, yet little was done till the Kings return from *Scotland*, which was about the end of *November*.

The *Iriſh*, to diſhearten the *Engliſh* from any reſiſtance, bragged, *That the Queen was with their Army*

Army, That the King would come amongſt them alſo, and aſſiſt them; That they did but maintain his Cauſe againſt the Puritans: *That they had the Kings Commiſſion for what they did* (ſhewing indeed a Patent themſelves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an Old Broad Seal which had been taken from an Ancient Patent out of *Farnham* Abby by one *Plunket* in the preſence of many of their Lords and Prieſts, as was afterwards atteſted by the Confeſſion of ſeveral:) *That the* Scots *were in the Confederacy with them*; And to ſeem to confirm this laſt, they abſtained for ſome time from deſtroying the Eſtates or murdering any of that Nation: And on the otherſide, to incourage the *Iriſh*, they produced pretended Letters; wherein they ſaid they were informed from *England*, *That the Parliament had paſſed an Act, all the* Iriſh *ſhould be compelled to the Proteſtant worſhip*, and for the firſt offence in refuſing, to forfeit all their Goods, for the ſecond their Eſtates, and for the third their Lives; And beſides this they preſented them with the hopes of Liberty, *That the* Engliſh *Yoke ſhould be ſtricken off*; *That they ſhould have a King of their own Nation, and that then all the Goods and Eſtates of the* Engliſh *ſhould be divided amongſt them.*

With theſe Motives of Spoil and Liberty, which were ſtrengthned by the former, of Religion, the Rebellion increaſed: The Rebels in *Ulſter* commanded by Sir *Phelim O Neal*, aſſiſted by his Brother, the Brother of the Lord *Mac Guire*, *Philip O Reley*, and ſeveral others, had poſſeſſed moſt of the ſtrong places in that Province; and many other, which they could not take by force nor treachery, were delivered to them by the *Engliſh* upon Articles, which they afterwards like true (or rather falſe) Papiſts, moſt perfidiouſly broke; Butchering and Maſſacring

Maſſacring the poor *Engliſh* without pity or compaſſion to Age or Sex; though they ſtill ſpared the *Scotch* Plantations in *ulſter*, becauſe of their Numbers, and likewiſe for fear of the *Scotch* Army, ſo eaſily to be tranſported to the North parts of *Ireland*: But now their General Sir *Phelim O Neal* (one of the Race of the late Bloody Earl of *Tyrone*, (a pretended *Proteſtant* till ſome time before) having got together a vaſt number of the Natives, fell upon them and deſtroyed their Houſes and Goods; and though they did not exerciſe that Cruelty on their Bodies, yet they ſtript them and drove them Naked to the *Scotiſh* Shore; from thence he marched into other parts, and took *Dundalk*, incamping at *Arde* near *Tredagh*.

The King finding his ſtay to be longer than he thought, left the whole buſineſs of *Ireland* to the Parliament, who declared a ſpeedy and vigorous Aſſiſtance, and Voted Fifty thouſand Pound for a preſent Supply: By which time the Lords of the Council of *Ireland* had Armed as many as were able, and given Commiſſions for raiſing ſeveral Regiments, of whom the Earl of *Ormond* was made Lieutenant General, and a Regiment was ſent from *England* under Sir *Simon Harcourt*; about which time the King returned out of *Scotland*, and was Entertained and Feaſted at *London*, and from thence Conducted to *White-Hall*: after which the King Treated ſeveral Chief Citizens at *Hampton Court*, where divers of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood.

December 2. The King Summons both Houſes together, and tells them, *That he had ſtaid in* Scotland *longer than he expected, yet not fruitleſly, for he had given full ſatisfaction to that Nation; but cannot chuſe but take notice of, and wonder at, the unexpected Diſtractions he finds at home*; and then commends

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to them the State of *Ireland*: next he publiſhes a Proclamation *for Obedience to the Laws, in force concerning Religion, and the performance of Divine Service without Innovation or Aboliſhing of Rites and Ceremonies. January* 20, His Majeſty makes another Speech to them, and Conjures them by all that is dear to him or them, to haſten the buſineſs of *Ireland*. After which the Commons ordered a Select Committee to draw up a Petition and Remonſtrance to the King; the Petition was thus,

Moſt Gracious Soveraign, your Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do with joy acknowledge the Favour of God in your ſafe return into England, *where the dangers and diſtempers of the State have cauſed them to deſire your Preſence and Authority to your Parliament, for preventing of imminent Ruin and Deſtruction to your Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *fomented by a malignant party, for alteration of Religion and Government, the increaſe of Popery by the Practice of* Jeſuites, *and other Engineers and Factors of* Rome, *corrupting the Biſhops and Privy Council; they being the cauſe of the late* Scottiſh War, *and the* Iriſh *Rebellion: Now for prevention, they pray, That your Majeſty would concur with your Parliament to deprive the Biſhops of their Votes, To take away Oppreſſion in Religion, Church Government, and Diſcipline, To purge your Councils of ſuch as are promoters of theſe Corruptions, and not alienate any Eſcheated Lands in* Ireland *by reaſon of the Rebellion! and theſe being granted, we will make you happy,*

This was followed by a large Remonſtrance, containing all the Miſcarriages and Misfortunes (which they termed Preſſures) ſince the beginning of his Majeſties Reign, As '1. The root and ground of 'theſe dangers. 2. Their Maturity and Ripeneſs. '3. The

'3. The effectual means used for their Extirpa
'tion, and the progress therein made: 4. Th
'Obstructions and Oppositions interrupting. 5. Th
'best means for removing these Obstacles, and fo
'accomplishing the Parliaments good Intention
'for restoring this Nation to its Ancient Renown
'The Actors and Promoters of these Evils, wer
'described to be, 1. The *Jesuited* Papists. 2. Th
'Bishops, and corrupted Clergy. 3. Interest
'Counsellors, and Courtiers. The root of the m
'chief was, the Malignant Party, whose Practice
'were branched into four particulars: 1. To fo
'ment differences and discontents between th
'King and People about Prerogative and Privileg
'for their own Advantages. 2. To suppress th
'purity and power of Religion. 3. To Unite an
'Conjoyn *Papists*, *Arminians* and *Libertines*, an
'out of them all to compose a Body sufficient t
'carry on their Designs. And 4. To disaffect th
'King to the Parliament, by Slanders and by put
'ting him upon other ways of Supply than by Par
'liament; and that the Intentions of these Malig
'nants were to subvert the Fundamental Laws an
'Principles of Government: They then charg
'this Malignant Party more particularly; as chief
'occasioning the Dissolution of three several Parlia
'ments without Relief of Grievances. The Impri
'soning and Fining several of the Members, raising
'great Sums of Money by Loan, Privy Seals, and
'Excise, and blasting *The Petition of Right*, The
'successless Attempts upon *France* and *Spain*, and
'Peace made with the *Spaniard* without consent of
'Parliament: The loss of *Rochel* occasioned by
'lending part of our Fleet to the *French* King, de-
'serting the cause of the *Palatinate*, charging the
'Kingdom with Billeting Souldiers, and the Design
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'of bringing in *German* Horſe to inſlave this Na-
'tion to Arbitrary Contributions: Laſtly they re-
'flect upon Scandalous Declarations publiſhed a-
'gainſt the Parliament, upon Injuſtice, Oppreſſi-
'on, Violence, Illegal Inlargements of Forreſts,
'Coat, and Conduct Money, Corrupt Councils
'and Deſigns, Projects, Monopolies, Illegal Pro-
'ceedings in Courts of Judicature, and Coun-
'cil Table; charging the Biſhops likewiſe with
'many Enormities, particularly for contributing to
'raiſe an Army for conſtraining the *Scots* to con-
'form to their Superſtitious Ceremonies; conclud-
'ing with what they have done for the Reformati-
'on of theſe Abuſes.

To their Petition the King returned this Anſwer, *That he knows not any Wicked or Malignant Perſons whom he doth either countenance or imploy; That he would concur with his People in a Parliamentary way againſt all* Popiſh *Deſigns, but would not conſent to deprive the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament: That he judged the power of the Clergy ſufficiently moderated by taking away the High Commiſſion Court, and needing no further Abridgment; That he was willing to concur with them for removal of any Innovations in Religion by a National Synod; That he had no Counſellors nor Miniſters of State whom he would not at any time expoſe to Trial, and leave to the Law, but cannot agree that any others ſhould have the choice of them but himſelf, That he concurs with them for not altering the Forfeited Lands in* Ireland, *but thinks it not reaſonable to reſolve, before the Event of War be ſeen; and doubts not of their Loyal Endeavours for the ſupport of his Royal State.*

In Anſwer to the Remonſtrance, the King Iſſues out a Declaration to his Subjects, the Sum of which was, *That he thought he had given ſufficient ſatisfacti-*

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on to his Peoples Fears and Jealouſies, concerning Religion, Liberty, and Civil Intereſts, by the Bills which he had paſſed this Parliament; deſiring that miſunderſtandings might be removed on either ſide, and that the bleeding Condition of Ireland *might perſwade them to Unity, for the relief of that unhappy Kingdom.*

Not long after happened the Inſolent Tumults of the *London* Apprentices, who in a riotous manner went to *White-hall* and *Weſtminſter*, to the great diſturbance of the King; who thereupon commanded the Lord Mayor, and Common Council to keep a double Watch and Guard, for preventing miſchief; and *Dec.* 28. the King ſends a Meſſage to the Lords, *That he would raiſe Ten thouſand Voluntiers for* Ireland, *if the Commons would undertake to pay them:* On New-years day a Proclamation was publiſhed againſt the *Iriſh*, declaring, *Thoſe that were in Arms with all their Adherents and Abettors, to be Rebels and Traytors:* Two days after, the King upon Information that the *L. Kimbolton*, and Five of the Houſe of Commons, *viz.* Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Authur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr *Hamden*, and Mr. *Stroud*, had correſpondence with the *Scots*, and countenanced the late City Tumults, He thereupon ordered their Trunks, Studies, and Chambers to be Sealed up, and their Perſon Seized; the former of which was done, but having timely notice they went aſide; upon which the Commons Voted the ſame day, *That if any Perſons ſhall Attempt to Seize the Perſons or Papers of any Parliament Men, ſuch Members ſhall require the Aid of the Conſtable to ſecure ſuch Perſons till further Order of the Houſe; and that it is lawful for any perſon to Aſſiſt the ſaid Members, and that the ſaid Members may ſtand upon their Guard, and make reſiſtance according to the Proteſtation for defence of the Priviledges of Parliament.*

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Hereupon the King charges the L. *Kimbolton* and the 5 Members with ſeveral Articles, and Acquaints both Houſes, *That he did intend to proſecute them for High Treaſon, and required that their Perſons might be ſecured:* And the next day the King Attended with his Guard of Penſioners, and ſome Hundreds of Gentlemen, went to the Houſe of Commons, and the Guard ſtaying without, the King with the *Palſgrave*, entred the Houſe, at whoſe entrance the Speaker riſes out of the Chair, and the King ſitting down therein, Views the Houſe round, and perceives the Birds he aimed at were flown, for having warning they had withdrawn into *London*; whereupon he tells them, *That he came to look for thoſe 5 Members whom he had accuſed of High Treaſon and was reſolved to have them where ever he found them; and expected to have them ſent to him as ſoon as they ſhould come to the Houſe; but would not have them think that this Act of his was any Violation of Parliament.*

This Act of the Kings was ſo highly reſented by the Houſe, that the next day *January* 5, the Commons Voted it a Breach of Priviledge, and Scandals were raiſed in the City, that he intended Violence againſt the Houſe of Commons, and came thither with force to Murther ſeveral Members, and uſed threatning Speeches againſt the Parliament; with which the City was ſo poſſeſſed, That unuſual Guards and Watches were ſet, as if ſome deſperate Aſſault were to be made upon the City, and the Houſes Adjourned till the Tueſday following, appointing a Committee in the mean time to ſit at *Guild-hall* to conſider of the moſt Effectual Means for their Security. And then they publiſh a Declaration, *That whoſoever ſhall Arreſt any Member of Parliament by Warrant from the King only, is Guilty*

Guilty of the Breach of Priviledges of Parliament; and likewise that all those who attended the King when he came to demand the 5 Members, were Guilty of a Traiterous Design against the King and Parliament. That the Proclamation for Apprehending and Imprisoning the said Members, was False, Scandalous, and Illegal, and not of Validity enough to hinder them from attending the House; and that the publishing of the several Articles of High Treason was a Breach of Priviledge; wherefore they intreat his Majesty, to discover the Names of those Informers and Evil Councellors; declaring all such Persons to be publick Enemies to the State.

In the mean time the *Londoners* came thronging to *Westminster* with Petitions, inveighing bitterly against some of the Peers, but especially the Bishops, whom they affronted as they went to the House; upon which they were so affrighted, that Twelve Bishops absent themselves from the House of Lords, drawing up a Protestation against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which had passed, or should pass, during their forced Absence; desiring their Protestation might be entred by the Clerk of the House of Peers. Presently after which, at a Conference between both Houses, it was agreed, *That this Protestation of the Twelve Bishops, did extend to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliaments*; and in a short time they were accused of High Treason, seized and brought on their knees at the Lords Bar: Ten of them were committed to the *Tower*, and the other two, in regard of their Age, to the Black Rod.

The King at this time, thinking himself unsafe without a Guard, accepted of the offer of some Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* to be a Guard to him, which inſtead of ſecurity, was by ſubtil men made more prejudicial to the King, by taking this occaſion, to raiſe the rage and jealouſie of the City againſt him; for at midnight there were crys made in the Streets of *London*, *That all People ſhould riſe to their Defence, for the King, with his Papiſts, were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats in their Beds*; than which, though nothing were more falſe, yet it found the effects of truth; and the People by ſuch Allarms, being terrified from ſleep, the impreſſions of thoſe night fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almoſt with madneſs; of which the King complained to the Common Council of *London*.

But the Houſe of Commons, to obviate this, upon ſuſpicion of ſome deſign upon their perſons, petition the King for a Guard, to be commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*, of whoſe fidelity to the King and State, no queſtion was ever made. This Petition was denied by the King, as not willing to have them too ſtrong, yet promiſed to take ſuch care for their ſecurity from Violence, as he would for the preſervation of Himſelf and Children; and if this general Aſſurrnce would not ſuffice to remove thoſe Apprehenſions, he would command ſuch a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be reſponſible for to Almighty God.

This Anſwer being unſatisfactory, the City joyn with them, and in their Common Council drew up a Petition, complaining, *That the Trade of the City was decayed, to the utter Ruin of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, by the Deſigns of* Papiſts, Foreigners and Domeſticks *(more particularly their fomenting the* Iriſh *Rebellion) by changing the Conſtable of the Tower, and making*

making preparations there, By the fortifying White-hall, *and his Majesties late Invasion of the House of Commons.* Whereupon they pray, *That by the Parliaments Advice the Protestants in* Ireland *may be relieved, the Tower to be put into hands of Persons of Trust, a Guard appointed for the safety of the Parliament; and that the Five Members may not be restrained nor proceeded against but by the Priviledges of Parliament.* And besides this, The King riding into *London*, the Citizens in multitudes flocked about his Coach, beseeching him, *To agree with his Parliament, and not to violate their Priviledges.*

To their Petition the King returned Answer, *That he could not express a greater sense of* Ireland *than he had done; That meerly to satisfie the City, he had removed a worthy Person from the charge of the* Tower; *and that the late Tumults had caused him to fortifie* White-hall, *for the security of his own Person, That his going to the House of Commons was to apprehend those five Members for Treason, to which the Priviledges of Parliament could not extend; and that yet he would proceed against them no otherwise than legally.*

And now such numbers of ordinary People daily gathered about *Westminster* and *White-hall*, that the King doubting of their Intentions, thought fit to with-draw to *Hampton Court*, taking with him the Queen, Prince, and Duke of *York*; where he and his Retinue and Guard quickly increased, by accession of divers of the Gentry. But the next day the Five Members were triumphantly guarded to *Westminster* by a great number of Citizens and Seamen, with hundreds of Boats and Barges, with Guns in them, shouting and hallowing as they passed by *White-hall*, and making large Protestations

at *Weſtminſter* of their conſtant fidelity and adherence to the Parliament. About this time the Parliament had notice the Lord *Digby* and Collonel *Lunsford* were raiſing Troops of Horſe at *Kingſton*, where the County Magazine was lodged; whereupon they order, *That the County Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, and the Trained Bands, ſhall take care to ſecure the Countreys and their Magazine, and ſuppreſs all unlawful Aſſemblies.* *Lunsford* was ſeized and ſent to the *Tower*, but *Digby* eſcaped beyond Sea. The King removed to *Royſton*, at which time Sir *Edward Harbert*, Attorney General, is queſtioned at the Lords Bar, to anſwer concerning the Articles againſt the Five Members; where it had gone hard with him, if the King (at his earneſt Supplication,) had not taken him off by a Letter to the Lord Keeper *Littleton* (who ſucceeded L. *Finch*) wherein the King clears the Attorney General, and takes the whole buſineſs upon himſelf, yet concludes, *That finding cauſe wholly to deſiſt from proceeding againſt the Perſons Accuſed, he had commanded his Attorney General to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor diſcover any proof concerning the ſame*: And ſo this Breach between the King and Parliament, ſeemed at preſent to be made up.

At this time the *Scots* having a conſiderable Intereſt in their *Britttiſh* Plantations in *Ireland*, make Propoſals for Tranſporting 2500 Souldiers thither, which were accepted by both Houſes, and afterward conſented to by the King: after which the *Scotch* Commiſſioners interpoſed their Meditation for compoſing the differences between the King and Parliament, which were now grown to too great an height, for which Mr. *Pym* was ordered by the Commons to give them the thanks of the Houſe.

January 20. The King ſends a Meſſage to the Parliament, propoſing the ſecurity of his own juſt Rights and Royal Authority, and, *That ſince particular Grievances and Diſtractions were too many, and would be too great to be preſented by themſelves, that they would comprize and digeſt them into one entire body, and ſend them to him; and it ſhould then appear how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greateſt Examples of the moſt Indulgent Princes, in their Acts of Grace, and Favour to the People.*

After this the Commons move the Lords to joyn with them in Petitioning for the *Militia* and the Command of the *Tower*, but they not complying, the Houſe of Commons ſingly of themſelves Importune the King to put thoſe things into the hands of the Parliament, as the only available means for removal of their Fears and Jealouſies. But the King, not willing to part with the Principal Jewels of his Crown, ſignified to them: *That he thought the* Militia *to be lawfully ſubject to no command but his own, and therefore would not let it out of his hands, That he had preferred to the Lieutenancy of the* Tower, *a Perſon of known Fortune and unqueſtionable Reputation, and that he would prefer none but ſuch to the command of his Forts and Caſtles; yet would not intruſt the power of conferring thoſe Places and Dignities from himſelf; being derived to him from his Anceſtors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom;* Yet the Commons would not deſiſt, but again petitioned, and were again refuſed.

Soon after divers Petitions were delivered to the Parliament againſt the Votes of Popiſh Lords and Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, as one from *Suffolk* with 1500, and another from the *Londoners* with 2000 hands, and a Third from the City Dames; All which were Anſwered, *That the Commons had already*

already endeavoured Relief from the Lords in their Requests, and should so continue till Redress were obtained. And shortly after, the Lords passed the Bill *For disabling all Persons in Holy Orders, to have any Place or Vote in Parliament, or to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction*; At the same time they petition the King again for the *Militia*, and for clearing *Kimbolton* and the Five Members, by his Answer to both which they understood his Resolution, *Not to intrust the* Militia *out of himself, nor to clear the Members but only by a General Pardon*; which was unsatisfactory.

The King now at *Hampton Court*, thought fit to send for all his Domestick Servants of either House of Parliament, and particularly the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland*, but they refused to come, excusing themselves with, *The necessity of performing their duties in Parliament, and discharging the Trust reposed in them:* For which they were put from their Places at Court.

The Lord *Digby* about this time sent Three Letters from *Middleburg* in *Zealand* (where he was fled out of *England*) one to the Queen, and two others to Secretary *Nicholas*, and Sir *Lewes Dives*; signifying, *That if the King would openly declare his mind, and betake himself to some place of security, that he might come freely to him, he doubted not but he should do him some acceptable Service*: These Letters were intercepted by the Parliament, and by them after perusal sent to the King, with their Intreaties to him, *That he would perswade the Queen not to correspond with* Digby *or any other whom his* Great Council *had proclaimed* Traytors.

There was a Report that the Parliament intended to Accuse the Queen of High-Treason, as one that had so much power with the King to misadvise him; this rumour the Parliament exused, as a

publick Scandal upon them; which ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with, yet provides againſt the danger, and therefore prevails with the King to accompany her Daughter *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange* into *Holland*, carrying with her all the Kings and her own Jewels, together with thoſe entailed upon the Crown; intending with theſe, and ſome other Aſſiſtance, to raiſe a Party ſufficient to maintain the King and his Regalities againſt the Parliament.

In the mean time Mr. *Pym* at a Conferrence complaining of the General Flocking of Papiſts into *Ireland*, affirmed, *That ſince the Lieutenant had ordered a ſtop upon the Ports againſt all* Iriſh *Papiſts, many of the Chief Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels, had been licenſed to paſs thither by his Majeſties immediate Warrant.* The King was highly offended at this Speech, which he ſignified to the Houſe, who in their Anſwer to his Meſſage, juſtifie Mr. *Pym*'s words to be the ſenſe of the Houſe, and, *That they had yet in ſafe Cuſtody the Lord* Delvin, *Sir* George Hamilton, *Colonel* Butler, Brother to the Lord *Miniard*, now in Rebellion, and one of the Lord *Nettervils* Sons: To which the King replies, *That he thought Mr.* Pym's *Speech was not ſo well grounded as it ought to have been, and that the aforementioned perſons had their Paſſes granted before he knew of the Parliaments Order of Reſtraint; and therefore expected their Declaration for his Vindication from that odious calumny of conniving, or underhand favouring that abhorred Iriſh Rebellion.*

But this His Majeſties deſire proved fruitleſs, for they next moved the King to turn out Sir *John Byron* out of the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, and at their Nomination Sir *John Conyers* ſucceeded; they then proceeded to name fit Perſons for truſt of the *Militia* in the ſeveral Counties, and by Act of Par-

Parliament *Diſabled all Clergy-men from exerciſing Temporal Juriſdiction*: After which the King by a Meſſage offers them, *To require by Proclamation all Statutes concerning* Popiſh *Recuſants to be put in Execution: That the ſeven Condemned Popiſh Prieſts ſhall be Baniſhed, and all Romiſh Prieſts within twenty days ſhall depart the Kingdom; That he refers the conſideration of Church Government and Liturgy wholly to the Houſes, and offers to go himſelf in Perſon againſt the Rebels in* Ireland.

But the Commons were now buſie about a Petition for Vindicating their Five Members, wherein they deſire the King to ſend them the Informers againſt the ſaid Members, or otherwiſe to deſert their Proſecution would not ſuffice; becauſe the whole Parliament was concerned in the Charge. And then they proceeded to ſettle the *Militia* for the defence of the Parliament, Tower, and City of *London*, under the Command of Serjeant Major General *Skippon*, who had formerly been an Experienced Souldier in the *Low-Countries*: The King had deferred his Anſwer to their Petition for ſettling the *Militia* of the Counties, according to their nomination, till his return from *Dover*, where he took leave of his Wife and Daughter, and ſo returned to *Greenwich*; from whence he ſent to *Hampton Court* for his two Eldeſt Sons to come to him, though contrary to the mind of the Parliament, who would have diſſwaded him from it.

And now the Parliament thought fit to conſider of the reducing of *Ireland*, and ordered two Millions and an half of thoſe Acres to be Confiſcate, of Rebels Lands in Four Provinces, ſhall be allotted to ſuch Perſons as will diſburſe Money for carrying on that War, and ſeveral other Proviſions were made for their Security, which the King confirms

Feb. 26. 1641; and in pursuance thereof a considerable Sum of Money was raised, the People being generally free in their Contributions.

The King being now at *Greenwich*, sends this Answer to the Petition about the *Militia*, *That he is willing to condescend to all the Proposals concerning the* Militia *of the Counties, and the Persons mentioned, but not of* London, *and other Corporations, whose Government in that particular, he thought it neither Justice nor Policy to alter; but would not consent to divest himself of the Power of the County* Militia *for an indefinite time, but for some limited Space*, This Answer did not satisfie, so that the Breach growing daily wider, the King declined these parts and the Parliament, and removed to *Theobalds*, taking with him, the Prince, and the D. of *York*.

About the beginning of *March* he receives a petition from the Parliament, wherein they require the *Militia* more resolutely than before, affirming, *That in case of denial, the imminent dangers would constrain them to dispose of it by Authority of Parliament; desiring also that he would make his abode near* London *and the Parliament, and continue the Prince at some of his Houses near the City, for the better carrying on of Affairs and preventing the Peoples Jealousies and Fears*; All which being refused, They presently Order, *That the Kingdom be put into a posture of Defence in such a way as was agreed upon by Parliament, and a Committee to prepare a publick Declaration, from these two Heads,* 1. *The just Causes of the Fears and Jealousies given to the Parliament, at the same time clearing themselves from any Jealousies conceived against himself.* 2. *To consider of all matters arising from his Majesties Message, and what was fit to be done.*

And

And now began our Troubles, and all the Miſeries of a Civil War; the Parliament every day entertaining (or pretending to entertain) new Jealouſies and Suſpicions of the Kings Actions, which howſoever in complement, they made ſhew of imputing only to his Evil Council, yet obliquely had had too great a Reflection upon his Perſon. They now proceed on a ſudden to make great preparations both by Sea and Land; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*, is commanded to rig the Kings *S*hips and fit them for Sea; and likwiſe all Maſters and Owners of Ships were perſwaded to do the like. The Beacons were repaired, Seamarks ſet up, and extraordinary poſting up and down with Pacquets; all ſad Prognoſticks of the Calamities enſuing.

The King being now at *Royſton*, *March* 9, the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Holland* bring him the Parliaments Declaration, and read it to him; wherein they repreſent to him ſome former miſcarriages: *As the attempts to incenſe the late* Nor hern *Army againſt the Parliament*: *The* Scotiſh *Troubles*, *L.* Jermins *Treaſons and Tranſportation by the Kings Warrant. The Petition delivered to Captain* Leg, *with the Kings own hand, with the Direction ſigned* C. R. *The buſineſs of the Lord* Kimbolton *and the five Members. The ſuſpicious deſigning a Guard about his Perſon, and under hand promoting the* Iriſh *Rebellion. The ordering Sir* John Pennington *to land the Lord* Digby *beyond Sea*; *from thence to alienate the King from his Parliament, and to procure Forreign Forces for his Aſſiſtance*; *which now (ſaid they) appeared more credible by reaſon of his removal with the Prince, and the manifold Advertiſements from* Rome, Venice, Paris, *and other parts, certifying that the Popes* Nuncio *had ſollicited the Kings of* France *and* Spain, *to lend his*

Majeſty 4000 *Men apeice in reference to ſome Deſigns againſt Religion and the Parliament, and laſtly, They deſire him to turn away his wicked Councellors, and to rely upon his Parliament, which if he would do, they would ſacrifice their Lives, Fortunes, and utmoſt endeavours to the Supportation of his Soveraignty.*

After the reading of the Declaration, the Lords would have perſwaded the King to come near the the Parliament, and to grant the *Militia* for a time; which his Majeſty refuſed, and told them in ſhort, *That their Fears, and Doubts and Jealouſies were ſuch as he would take time to ſatisfy the whole World of; but that his own doubts were not Trivial, occaſioned by ſo many Scandalous Pamphlets, and Seditious Sermons; divers publick Tumults hitherto uninquired into, and unpuniſhed*; and ſometime after the King publiſhed a Declaration to the People, in Anſwer to theirs; the ſum of which was.

'That he had no evil Councellors about him, 'but leaves ſuch to their cenſure where they ſhould 'find them. That he deſired the Judgments of 'Heaven might be manifeſted upon thoſe who had 'any deſign againſt the *Proteſtant* Profeſſion. 'That the *Scottiſh* Troubles were buried in perpe-'tual ſilence, by the *Act of Oblivion*, and paſſed 'in Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That they 'charging him with any inclining to the *Iriſh* Rebels, 'was a high and cauſleſs injury to his Royal Repu-'tation. That he never intended to exaſperate 'the late Army, or in any wiſe to uſe them againſt 'the Parliament. That Captain *Leg's* Petition was 'brought to him, ſubſcribed by the Officers of the 'Army, deſiring that the Parliament might not be 'hindred from reforming the Church and State, to 'the Model of Queen *Elizabeths* days; and was 'advantageous to them: And to aſſure Sir *Jacob*

Aſhly

'*Aſkly* of his Opinion therein, he writ *C. R.* That 'the Lord *Digby* and Mr. *Jermin*, neither were 'at *White-hall*, nor had any Warrant from him 'after the Reſtraint. That he had given ſufficient 'Anſwer about *Kimbolton* and the five Members. 'That the care of his own ſafety cauſed him to 'raiſe a Guard at *White-hall*, and to receive the 'Loyal Tender, which the Gentlemen of the *Inns* 'of *Court* did make him of their Service. And 'that he looked upon their Forreign Advertiſe-'ments, by them mentioned, as meerly wild and 'irrational.

The King goes further *Northward*, whilſt the Parliament Voted the Ordinance for Defence of the Kingdom, not to be prejudicial to the Oath of *Allegiance*, but to be obeyed as the Fundamental Laws; and that the Kings Commands for Lieutenancy over the ſeveral Counties were illegal and void; but he coming to *Huntington* ſends them a Meſſage, *March* 15. *That he intends to make his Reſidence at* York, *and deſires them to haſten their Succours for* Ireland, *and not upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which he is not a Party) of the* Militia, *or any other thing, to Do or Execute againſt the Laws, which he himſelf was to keep, and his Subjects to obey, declaring his Subjects not to be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction to which he hath not given conſent*: In anſwer to which, they reſolve *That the abſence of the King ſo far from his Parliament; was deſtructive to the Relief of* Ireland; *and therefore all thoſe Councellors which adviſed him to it, are to be ſuſpected as Favourers of that bloody Rebellion, as likewiſe thoſe who perſwaded his Majeſty to queſtion or contradict their Votes, which was a high breach of Priviledge of Parliament.*

March 16. The King at *Stamford* publiſhed a

Proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants; and from thence he goes to *York*, and there *March* 24, Repeals his Grant for paſſing the *Bill againſt Tonnage and Poundage*, of *June* 22 laſt paſt, commanding the payment thereof for the future, according to the Act of the Firſt of King *James*; and ſo this year ended.

It was now the year 1642, and the 18th of his Majeſties Reign, when a freſh Difference aroſe; for the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*, being indiſpoſed, the King ordered Sir *John Penington*, Vice Admiral, to take the charge of the Summer Fleet for the Narrow Seas; but the Parliament earneſtly deſired that it might be conferred upon the Earl of *Warwick*, but were refuſed by the King to their great diſtaſte. During the Aſſizes at *York*, the Gentry, Miniſters, and Freeholders of that County, preſented a Petition to the King, to endeavour an Agreement with the Parliament, who adviſes them to apply themſelves to the Parliament, for the good of all. And next day he ſends a Meſſage to the Houſes, 'That he intended to raiſe his Guard out of the Counties near 'Cheſter, Two thouſand Foot and Two hundred 'Horſe, to be ſupplied with Arms from the Magazine at *Hull*, upon taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, That if the Parliaments 'Undertaking for the *Iriſh* War, would not ſuffice 'to defray the Charges of raiſing and paying them, 'he would pawn or ſell his Land or Houſes; deſiring them withal, to quicken their Levies for '*Munſter*, and *Connaught*, as the *Scots* already did 'theirs of *Ulſter*; and offers his Perſon againſt the 'Rebels.

The Parliament having for ſome time miſtruſted the Kings going *North*, to be intended for ſeizing the

the Magazine at *Hull*, endeavoured to prevent it, declaring their ſuſpicion of his deſign to raiſe an Army, and therefore pray, 'That it might be re-'moved from thence to the *Tower* of *London*, as a 'place of more ſafety, and eaſier tranſport for *Ire-'land*; and that the Repreive for the popiſh prieſts 'in *Newgate* may be recalled and they executed. And to make all ſure, Sir *John Hotham*, a Mem-ber of the Houſe of Commons, is ſent down to take upon him the Government of that place, who by his ſudden coming thither, prevented the Earl of *New-caſtle*, who was deſigned by the King to be Governor thereof; ſo that when the King came to *Hull* in Perſon, with his Guard conſiſting of Lords and Gentlemen, *April* 23. 1642, he finds the Gates ſhut upon him, and the Bridges drawn up; but from the Wall *Hotham* appears, and upon his knees intreats his Majeſty, *Not to command that, which, without the breach of his Truſt, he could not yield obedience to.*

Whereupon the King finding his entrance pre-vented, cauſed *Hotham* inſtantly to be proclaimed Traytor; and by Letters to the Parliament, com-plained of that Indignity, and required ſatisfaction; but they juſtified him therein, and ſent a Commit-tee of the Lords and Commons to reſide there, for the better ſecuring the Garriſon to them, and gave the Governor power to raiſe the Trained Bands for his defence; after which the King hearing that the Parliament had raiſed a Guard of themſelves without his conſent; and reflecting upon the bu-ſineſs of *Hotham*, he ſummoned the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to a Meeting, and acquainted them, 'That his Magazine at *Hull* was going to be taken 'from him againſt his will, the *Militia* againſt the 'Law and his conſent, put in execution, and Sir

John

'*John Hotham's* Treaſon countenanced, ſo that he 'was reſolved to have a Guard to ſecure his perſon, 'in which he deſired their aſſiſtance, that he might 'be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true 'Proteſtant Religion, from violation or injury.

The King had hereby indifferently ſtrengthened himſelf, and more had come in had not thoſe Members of Parliament, who came to the King at *York*, prevailed with ſome of the Free-holders to proteſt againſt it. And the Parliament declare, 'That the 'Subjects unleſs bound to it by ſpecial Service, could 'not be commanded to attend the King at his plea-'ſure, without tranſgreſſing againſt the Laws and 'Liberties of the Kingdom. And that whoſoever, 'upon pretence of his Majeſties Command, ſhall 'take up Arms in a warlike manner, ſhall be e-'ſteemed diſturbers of the peace, and to be pro-'ceeded againſt accordingly.

In the mean while Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, who had been Recorder of *London* for ſix years, being Impeached by the Parliament, and in danger of hanging, was glad to ſhift for himſelf, and by flight eſcaped to the King; at which time his Majeſty endeavoured to have removed the Term from *London* to *York*, but was much oppoſed therein by the Parliament, who Voted it Illegal, and forbid the L. Keeper to iſſue out Writs, or Seal any Proclamation to that purpoſe. The Parliament now proceed to put the people into a Military poſture, requiring all Perſons in Authority to put the late Ordinance of the *Militia* in Execution, which the King by his Proclamation forbids; but for the Peoples ſatisfaction the Parliament publiſh'd a ſevere Declaration to the ſame Effect as their former Remonſtrance; only this was added, 'That the King at his being in '*Scotland* had countenanced the *Iriſh* in their Re-'bellious

'bellious Designs, and that his connivance was ma-'nifested by his tedious with-holding the Proclama-'tion whereby they were declared Traytors, till '*Jan.* 2. being almost a Quarter of a Year after the 'breaking out of the Rebellion, and then had ap-'pointed but forty Copies to be printed, & none of 'them to be published without his pleasure signified; 'whereas his Proclamations against the *Scots* had 'been dispersed throughout all the Kingdom with 'publick Prayers and Execrations.

The King makes a speedy Answer hereunto, not much differing from what he had said before; yet tells them, 'That as to the business of the *Irish*, his 'Council in *Ireland* had desired them no sooner, nor 'so many Copies by twenty as he had Signed and 'and sent them. His Majesty had written a Let-'ter to his Privy Council of *Scotland*, to take away 'from them all suspicion of those Imputations so 'frequently laid to his Charge, of being *Popishly* 'affected, to be guilty of the bloodshed in *Ireland*, 'and to bring in Forreign Forces; Wherewith they seemed so satisfied, that they returned a most respectful Answer, and presently interposed their Mediation to heal the Breach before it grew wider; humbly desiring the King *to hearken to his Parliament, as his greatest, his best, and most unparallel'd Council; and discouraging him from any personal Journy into* Ireland. This Message was sent by the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and after this the *Scots* Petition to the Kings Privy Council there, *Not to meddle with any verbal or real Engagement for the King against the Parliament.* Hereupon the *English* Parliament publish a Protestation, wherein they vindicate their own proceedings, and declare the great sense they had of the Affection of their *Scotish* Brethren, manifested unto them in so many parti-

particulars, and more especially the mentioned Petition.

The Earl of *Bristol*, an Old Experienced Statesman, prudently foresaw that such unhappy beginings must necessarily have a very bad Issue,& therefore earnestly endeavoured an Accommodation by stating the Case in the House of Lords; representing the Offers of the King on the one side, and the Professions of the Parliament on the other; and likewise the dreadful Effects of a Civil War (then likely to ensue) by the Example of the woful Desolations in *Germany*, and the expensive Troubles in *Scotland*; and then proposes some methods for preventing these dangers: as 1. That a select Com-'mittee of Parliament should truly state the matters 'in difference, with the most probable ways of re-'conciling them. 2. To consider particularly what 'may be expected, either in point of supporting 'the King, or releiving his People: And lastly, 'how the Conditions agreed upon, may be secured. 'And to shew the necessity of this course, he dis-'covers the deplorable State of *Ireland*, the debts 'and necessities of the Crown, the distractions 'which were likely to produce confusion of Reli-'gion, most dangerous and destructive to a State, 'besides the general Distraction of the Subjects, 'who between Commands, aud Countermands, 'knew not whom to obey, This was admitted as good and solid Reason, but Divine Justice would not so permit the Sins of the *English* Nation to go unpunished, and the L. *Bristols* Speech, though well received, yet proved ineffectual.

In the mean time the Kings Guard increases at *York*, which the House Voted a preparation for War against the Parliament, a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, and that all such as serve

ſerve him there are Traitors to the Laws of the Kingdom, as the 11 *Rich.* 2. and the 1 *Hen.* 3. This was followed by another Declaration or Remonſtrance of the miſactions of the King, and their own Priviledges, which the King anſwers and they again reply to; and *May* 28. the Parliament ordain, That all Sheriffs, Juſtices, *&c.* make ſtay of all Arms and Ammunition going to the King at *York*; the King on the other ſide forbids all Perſons belonging to the Trained Bands or *Militia* of the Kingdom, to obey any Order, or Ordinance of any of the Houſes; divers Members of both Houſes withdrew themſelves to the King, as being unſatisfied with their proceedings; whereupon the Parliament Ordered, That all ſuch as did not make their Perſonal Appearance by *June* 16 enſuing, ſhould be fined an 100 pounds toward the *Iriſh* Wars, ſuch only excepted as were imployed by the Parliament.

They likewiſe underſtood that the Queen had pawned the Crown Jewels in *Holland* for Money to be tranſported to the King; which to prevent him of, they order, *That whoever hath; or ſhall pay, lend, ſend, or bring any Money in* Specie *into this Kingdom, for, or upon thoſe Jewels; or accept of any Bill hereafter, ſhall be an Enemy to the State.*

June 2. The Parliament ſent to the King Nineteen Propoſition: 1. 'That all the Kings Privy 'Council, great Officers, and Miniſters of State, 'may be put out, except ſuch as the Parliament 'ſhall approve; and that an Oath be tendered 'them. 2. That all Affairs of State be managed by 'the Parliament, except ſuch matters as are trans-'ferr'd by them to the Privy Council, and to be 'concluded by the major part of the Nobility under 'their hands, the full number not to exceed twenty 'five,

'five, nor to be under Fifteen. If any place ſhall 'fall Void in the interval of Parliament, then that 'the major part of the Council chuſe one to be 'confirmed at the next Seſſion of *Parliament*, 3. 'That all great Officers of the Kingdom, ſhall be 'choſen with *Approbation* of *Parliament*. 4. That 'the Government and Education of the Kings 'Children, be by appointment of *Parliament*. 5. 'That their Marriages be treated and concluded by 'Parliament. 6. That the Laws againſt *Papiſts*, 'Prieſts, and others, be executed, without To-'leration or Diſpenſation, except by *Parliament*. '7. That no *Popiſh* Lord or Peer have Vote in 'Parliament; and their Children be educated in 'the *Proteſtant Faith*. 8. That Church Govern-'ment be reformed as the Parliament ſhall adviſe. '9. That the *Militia* be ſettled as the Parliament 'have ordered, and that the King recall all his De-'clarations, publiſhed againſt their Ordinances 'therein. 10. That all Privy Councellors and Jud-'ges take an Oath for the maintenance of *The Peti-'tion of Right*, and other Statutes, which ſhall be 'made this Parliament. 11. That all Officers pla-'ced by Parliament hold their places, *Quam diu 'bene ſegeſſerint*, as long as they ſhall act juſtly. '12. That all Members of Parliament put out, du-'ring this time, be reſtored again. 13. That the 'Juſtice of Parliament paſs upon all Delinquents, 'and that they appear or abide their cenſure. 14. 'That the general Pardon paſs with Exceptions, 'as the Parliament ſhall adviſe. 15. That all Forts 'and Caſtles of this Kingdom be diſpoſed of by 'Parliament. 16. That the King diſcharge all his 'Guards and Forces now in being, and not raiſe 'any other, but in caſe of actual Rebellion. 17. 'That the King enter into ſtrict *Alliance* with all '*Proteſtant* Kingdoms and States for their *Aſſiſt-*

'ance

'ance, to recover the Rights of his Siſter, and her 'Princely Iſſue, to thoſe Dignities and Dominions 'which belong to them: 18. That the Lord *Kim-* 'bolton and the Five Members be cleared by *Act of* 'Parliament. 19. That no Peer hereafter to be 'made, ſhall ſit in Parliament without their conſent.

Theſe propoſitions were rejected by the King, as inconſiſtent with his Regality: ſo that now Men began to diſpair of any good iſſue, for both ſides make preparations for War: The King ſending out his *Commiſſions of Array*; and the Parliament publiſhed an Order *June* 10. for bringing in money or plate to maintain the Horſe, Horſe-men, and Arms, for the publick peace and defence of the King and both Houſes of Parliament; and declared the Kings *Commiſſion* to be againſt the Law, Liberty aud property of the Subject; and the *Actors* therein to be diſturbers of the peace, and Betrayers of the Subjects Liberty. *At* this time the Lord keeper *Littleton*, having delivered the Great Seal to one *Eliot*, whom the King ſent for it, durſt not ſtay behind for fear of being queſtioned, but went to the King to *York*, as many of the Peers did likewiſe whom the King ſummoning together, as alſo his Privy Council, he declares and proteſts to them, 'That he would not Uſurp any Illegal 'Authority over them, but is ready to maintain 'them againſt all others that would. And that he 'would defend them from all Votes and Orders 'of Parliament, together with the true *Proteſtant* 'Religion, the lawful Liberty of the Subject, and 'the juſt Priviledges of the Three Eſtates of Parliament; nor will he Engage them in any War but 'what ſhall be for the neceſſary defence of his and 'their rights; Whereupon they all ingaged to him their Duty and Allegiance in a moſt Solemn Proteſtation

Proteſtation. After which the King ſent Letters to Sir *Rich. Gurney* L. Mayor, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs of *London*, forbidding them, upon peril of having their Charter queſtioned, to levy Arms or raiſe Money, upon pretence of a Guard to the Parliament, or any other Account, except only the relief of *Ireland*, or the payment of the *Scotch* Subjects.

At this time the King publiſheth a General Declaration, wherein he deſcants upon all the Parliaments Declarations for the laſt 7 Months, but eſpecially the laſt; profeſſing that hence forward he expects they ſhould break out into diſloyal Actions, declaims againſt their making the defence of the King, to be the pretence for their raiſing Forces; proteſts his own conſtant Reſolution for the preſerving of Peace, Religion, the Laws and Subjects Liberties, and expects all his Subjects to aſſiſt him againſt the Traiterous Attempts of ſuch Men as would deſtroy his Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, and bring on a Civil War; engaging that whoſoever ſhall bring to him Money, Ammunition, Horſe, or Arms, ſhall receive Eight Pound *per Cent.* Conſideration, and have good Aſſurance of both Principal and Intereſt, upon his Forreſt Lands, Parks, and Houſes.

After this the King by Proclamation forbids all Levies of Forces, and all Contributions to ſuch Levies, without his expreſs pleaſure; grounding it upon ſeveral Statutes as 7 *Edw.* 1. 2 *Edw.* 3. And then minds them of their Oath of Allegiance, by which they were bound to be Faithful, not to the King only as King, but to his Perſon, as King *Charles*, contrary to the Parliaments diſtinction, betwixt his Perſon and his Authority; his Perſon at *York*, and his Authority in Parliament; and concludes

cludes with justifying his *Commission of Array*, which were now Issued out in several Counties in *England* and *Wales*; to this the *P*arliament reply, and the King again to them, which was followed by several Messages to and fro; all which rather exasperated than allayed the difference; and now began *England* to be divided, as *Italy* once was into *Guelphes* and *Gibbellines*, so they into *Royallists* and *Presbyterians*, or *Cavaleers* and *Roundheads*.

*A*fter this the King makes a *P*rogress from *York* into the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, and Summons the Gentlemen and Freeholders to *Newark*, he Caresses them with the most obliging expressions imaginable. And *July* 11, 1642, His Majesty sends a Message to the Parliament to Certifie them of his Intentions to reduce *Hull* by force, if not forthwith delivered to him, which if they should do, he would then admit of their future Addresses, and return such Propositions as might best conduce to prevent the approaching War; together with this Message he sent them likewise a Copy of the Proclamation, which he had publish'd against Sir *J.Hotham*, wherein he complains of the Affront done to his Person by Sir *J.* and of the Parl. justifying that Action by their Votes and Orders; That *Hotham* having fortified the Town, and drown'd the Countrey, had also set out a Pinnace at Sea, which had intercepted his Pacquet Boat with the Queens Letters, and that the E. of *Warwick* contrary to the Kings Command, had taken upon him the Command of the Fleet; for which Reasons the King was resolv'd to punish *Hotham*. Indeed the E. of *W.* had been by the Parl. commended to the King as the fittest man for Admiral (the E. of *N.* being then sick) but he was rejected by the King, who conferr'd that place upon Sir *John Pennington*; Yet afterwards the Parl. conceiving it necessary

neceſſary to get the Fleet into their hands, they found means, notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of Sir *J. Pennington* and his Adherents, to make the E. of *W.* Admiral; after which a Ship laden with Arms and Ammunition from *Holland* for the King, being ignorant of the matter, fell in among the Fleet, and was by the E. of *W.* ſent to the Parliament.

The Parliament now thought fit to Arm, and therefore reſolve that an Army ſhall be raiſed for Defence (as they term it) of King and Parliament; and the Earl of *Eſſex* to be Capt. General, and the E. of *Bedford* to command the Horſe; the E. of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Will. Stapleton*, were ordered to carry a Petition to the King then at *Beverly*; the effect whereof was, *To pray him to diſband all his Forces, to recal his* Commiſſions of Array, *diſmiſs his Guard*; *and return to the Parliament*: All which the King refuſed. The Parliament next conſider of raiſing Money, and ſo declare for Loan upon the *Publick Faith*; to promote which the endeavours of the Miniſters were very ſerviceable, whereby in a ſhort time a very conſiderable quantity of Money, Plate, and Ammunition, were brought in.

The King was likewiſe furniſhed with Money from the Queen upon the pawned Jewels, and ſome Contributions from divers Lords and Gentlemen, and the Univerſity of *Oxford*. The King goes from *Beverly* to *Leiceſter*, and there Proclaims the Earl of *Stamford* Traitor, for removing the County *Magazine* from the Town to his own Houſe at *Bradgate*. *Aug.* 1. the King comes back to *Yorkſhire*, and raiſes a Regiment under the E. of *Cumberland*, which he called Prince *Charles* his Regiment.

The

The Parliament on the other ſide, declare the *Commiſſioners of Array* to be Traitors and diſturbers of the *State* and *Peace* of the Kingdom, and Lievtenants of ſeveral Counties were conſtituted by Parliament. The King likewiſe deals with their Commanders, as they did with his, and Proclaimed General *Eſſex* with all his Colonels and Officers who ſhould not inſtantly lay down their Arms, to be Rebels and Traitors; and the Marqueſs of *Hartford* and his Forces are ordered to march againſt him. The King then ſummons in the Countrey on the *North ſide* of *Trent*, and 20 miles *Southward*, and publiſheth his Grand Declaration concerning all tranſactions between himſelf and the Parliament.

Auguſt 22. 1642. The King comes to *Nottingham*, and there erects his Standard, to which ſome numbers reſorted, but far ſhort of what was expected; And three days after the King ſends a Meſſage to the Parliament to propoſe a Treaty; the Meſſengers were the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, Sir *John Culpeper Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and Sir *William Udall*; none of which were ſuffered to ſit in the Houſe, to deliver their Errand, therefore it was ſent in by the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, to which the Parliament Anſwered, That untill His Majeſty ſhall recall his Proclamations, and Declarations of Treaſon againſt the E. of *Eſſex*, and them, and their Adherents; And unleſs the Kings Standard ſet up in purſuance thereof, be taken down, they cannot by the fundamental Priviledges of Parliament, give his Majeſty another anſwer.

'The King replyes, that he never intended to de-
'clare the Parliament Traitors, or ſet up his Stand-
'ard againſt them; but if they reſolve to Treat, ei-
'ther Party ſhall revoke their Declarations againſt all
'Perſons as Traitors, and the ſame day to take down
'his Standard.

To

To this they answer, That the Differences could no any ways be concluded, unless he would forsake h evil Councellors, and return to his Parliament; An accordingly *Sept. 6.* they Order and Declare, th the Arms which they have, or shall take up for t *Parliament*, *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties* of the King dom, shall not be laid down untill the King withdra his Protection from such persons as are or shall b Voted Delinquents, and shall leave them to Justice that so their Estates may discharge the Debts an Loan Moneys of the Common-wealth.

The War being now begun, the new raised Soulde ers committed many Outrages upon the Countre People, which both King and Parliament upon Com plaint endeavoured to rectifie: The King himsel was now *Generalissimo* over his own, his Captain Ge neral was first the Marquess of *Hartford*, and after ward the E. of *Lindsey*, and the E. of *Essex* for th *Parliamentarians*; The Kings Forces received th first repulse at *Hull* by Sir *John Hotham*, and Sir *John Meldrum*, and the King takes up his Quarters a *Shrewsbury*; *Portsmouth* was next surrendred to th Parliament, and presently after Sir *John Byron* take *Worcester* for the King; In *September* the two Prince *Palatines*, *Rupert* and *Maurice* arrived in *England*, who were presently entertained, and put into Com mand by the King; who having now got together a potent Army, he made a solemn Protestation to them of his candid Intentions, and sincere meaning to defend the *Protestant Religion*, the Laws and Li berties of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament, according to the former protestation at *York*.

Sept. 9. the Earl of *Essex* in great State attended on by the Parliament set forth out of *London* toward St. *Albans*, and from thence to *Northampton*, where all his Forces met, amounting to near fourteen thousand men,

men, having with him the Parliaments Petition which he was to preſent to the King, the effect of which was,

That his Loyall Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot without tenderneſs of Compaſſion behold the preſſing Calamities of England, *and* Ireland, *by the Practices of a prevailing Party with his Majeſty, to alter true Religion, and the Ancient Government of this Kingdom, introducing Superſtition into the Churches, and Confuſion in the State; Exciting, encouraging, and foſtering the Rebellion in* Ireland, *and as there, ſo here begin the like Maſſacres; by drawing on a War againſt the Parliament, leading his Perſon againſt them, as if by Conqueſt to eſtabliſh an unlimited Power over the People, ſeeking to bring over the Rebels of* Ireland *to joyn with them: And all theſe evil Councellors are Defended and protected againſt the Juſtice of the Parliament, who have for their juſt Defence of Religion, the Kings Crown and Dignity, the Laws, Liberties and Power of Parliaments, taken up Arms, and Authorized the E. of* Eſſex *to be their Captain General againſt theſe Rebels and Traytors. And pray the King to withdraw his Perſon, and leave them to be ſuppreſt by his Power, and to return to his Parliament, and that they will receive him with Honour, and yeild him Obedience, ſecure his Perſon, and eſtabliſh him and his People with all the Bleſſings of a Glorious and Happy Reign.*

This Petition was never delivered, though *Eſſex* ſent twice to the King for ſafe conduct for thoſe who were to preſent it; for the King refuſed to receive any Addreſs from thoſe whom he accuſed of High Treaſon, of whom the E. of *Eſſex* was one: The King then marches from *Shrewsbury* toward *London*, upon which the Parliament ordered the Forces of the Aſſociated Counties of *Eſſex*, *Hartford*, *Middleſex*,

ſex and *London* to be ready at an hours warning. They likewiſe order that the Lands, Rents and Profits of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſhall be Sequeſtred as likewiſe the Kings Fines about Wards.

A while after Collonel *Fines* and *Sands* were rou[t]ed at *Worceſter* by Prince *Rupert*, while they endeavoured to take the Town from Sir *John Byron*, wh[o] had it in poſſeſſion for the King; but *Eſſex* makin[g] his approach with his Army, Prince *Rupert* and *Byr[on]* quitted the Town to him; then were *Gloceſter*, *Briſ[tol]* and other places made Garriſons for the Parliament. But in *York-ſhire* and *Cornwall* the Kings Party grew powerfull, and likewiſe in *Wales*; where the E. of *Worceſter* had got together a great number of *Welch-men*, ſo that the King ſeeing his Army increaſed, reſolved to march toward *London*, and was gotten one dayes Journey before *Eſſex*; who perceiving his Error of ſtaying ſo long at *Worceſter*, haſtens after him to the relief of his Maſters; the King diſdaining to be purſued by a Subject, turns back to meet him, and *October* 23. 1642. both Parties drew into the Field between *Keinton* and *Edghill* in *Warwick-ſhire*, where on both ſides were ſlain between five and 6000. men that day, but night parting them, the next day both parties quit the Field; the King then marches to *Coventry*, and from thence ſends a Proclamation of Pardon to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, ſome Perſons only excepted. This Battell of *Edge-hill* was fought on Sunday, the ſame day twelve Month the *Iriſh* Rebellion brake out.

The King then takes in *Banbury*, the Town and Caſtle being ſurrendred without a blow, and two Regiments of Foot, and a Troop of Horſe, took Arms under him; from thence the King marches to *Oxford*; and *Eſſex* goes to *London*, where he was received with great Honour; The Parliament to re-

recruit their Army, declare; *That all Apprentices who will Liſt themſelves, ſhall be free from their Maſters for that time, and ſhall afterward be received again into ſervice*: By which means abundance were induced to turn Souldiers; they likewiſe invite the *Scots* to come in to their aſſiſtance; which the King by a Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council in *Scotland* endeavours to prevent, but in vain: At this time ſeveral of the Lords and Commons preſent a Petition to the King at *Colebrook*, to deſire him to appoint a place to treat in: To which he anſwered; *He would expect them at his Caſtle of* Windſor, *and deſires them to haſten the Treaty.*

At the ſame time, the King hearing that *Eſſex* had drawn his Forces and Ordnance out of *London* toward him, and that unleſs he gained *Brainford* he would be hemm'd in by the Parliaments Army, who poſſeſſed moſt of the Towns round about him; the King marches thither that night, where part of Col. *Hollis*'s Regiment that quartered there, made a ſtout reſiſtance, till the L. *Brooks*'s and Coll. *Hamdens* Regiments came in to their relief, who maintained the Fight till night, and then retreated out of Town, which the King preſently took poſſeſſion of, with ſome Priſoners, Arms and Amunition, 11 Colours, and 15 pieces of Ordnance: *Eſſex* hearing this, ſoon came thither, followed with the City *Militia* and Trained Bands, which together made a formidable Army, ſo that the King thought fit to march back again to *Oxford*; This Action in a time of Treaty, (though not without ſufficient ground) was ſo ill reſented by the Houſes, that they Voted *to have no Accommodation*: Yet afterward upon conſideration, they again Petition him to deſert his Army, and return to his Parliament, but with the ſame ſucceſs as formerly.

At this time a Letter from one of the Kings Agents

in *Holland* was intercepted, in which he is advertis'd of conſiderable Forces ready to be ſent over for his Service; from *Denmark* likewiſe Arms are ſent for ten thouſand Foot, and 2500 Horſe, with a Train of Artillery, and every thing proportionable, even to the Drums and Halberts. In *York-ſhire* the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had a ſharp rencounter at *Tadcaſter* with the L. *Fairfax*, and forced him to retreat: The Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*, the Iſle of *Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, are authorized by Parliament to aſſociate under the L. *Gray* of *Wark*, and *Wincheſter* and *Cheſter* are gained by the Paliament.

Dec. 15. Collonel *Goring* with the Kings Standard, 80 Old Commanders, and ſtore of Warlike Proviſion, joyn with the E. of *Newcaſtle*. About which time the City of *London* Petitioned the King, and profeſs their grief, for his diſtruſt of their Loyalty, with large Proteſtations of their zealous Intentions to defend him, with all the Love and Duty which became good Subjects. The King replies, *That he hath a good Opinion of many of them, and could freely and willingly Pardon all except* Pennington *the preſent Maior*, Venn, *and ſome others; and concludes with declaring his high diſpleaſure againſt ſuch as ſhall continue acting, and aſſiſting his Adverſaries:* Many of them were ſtartled with this Anſwer, yet were revived again with what Mr. *Pryn* and the Parliament Committee told their Common Council, of the Parliaments great Love and Affection to them, and Reſolution to live and dye in their Defence.

In the North Sir. *Hugh. Cholmly* encounters with ſeveral Partyes of the Kings Horſe at *Malton*, and *Jan.* 16. joyning with Sir. *Matthew Boynton*, routed a Party of 600 Horſe and Foot under Col. *Slingsby*, Sir. *Thomas Fairfax*. likewiſe takeſt *Leeds* with little loſs on his ſide, but 500 Royaliſts

liſts were made Priſoners, (ſix of them Commanders) 4 Colours, and much Arms and Ammunition were taken; The Kings Forces next leave *Wakefield* and *Doncaſter*, which are preſently garriſoned for the Parliament. The E. of *Newcaſtle* brings his Forces to *York*, to prepare for entertaining the Queen; and *Jan.* 17. he proclaims the L. *Fairfax*, and his Son Sir *Thomas*, *Traytors*, (as the E. of *Cumberland* had done before) which the Parliament reſenting, proclaimed the L. *Newcaſtle* the ſame.

The Parliament, *Febr.* 1. make the following Propoſitions to the King at *Oxford* (which were preſented by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembrook*, and *Holland*, with 8. of the Houſe of Commons.) *To disband his Army, and to return home to his Parliament*; *To leave all Delinquents to Tryal, and all* Papiſts *to be diſarmed: To paſs an Act for Aboliſhing the preſent Church Governors, and ſuch other Bills as ſhall be prepared* in order to a Reformation; *All* Popiſh Recuſants *to abjure and renounce* Popery; *All Malignant Councellors to be removed, the* Militia *to be ſetled according to the Parliaments minds*; *ſuch Perſons to be preferr'd to Great Offices and Places of Judicature, as the Parliament ſhall name, and all ſuch Juſtices of Peace as have been lately turned out of Commiſſion to be again taken in*; That an Act paſs to *Vindicate the L.* Kimbolton, and *the 5 Members. And an Alliance be entred into with our* Proteſtant *Neighbours for Recovery of the* Palatinate, *That a General Pardon paſs, with exception to the E. of* Newcaſtle, *L.* Digby, *and ſome others*; *That ſuch Members of Parliament as have been diſplaced, be reſtored to Offices and Places, and ſatisfaction made them for their Loſſes.*

On the other ſide, the King Propoſed, 'That 'his own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Ships, and 'Forts be reſtored: That what hath been done 'contrary to Law, and the King Rights, may be 'renounced, and recalled: That all Illegal Power 'claimed, or acted by any Orders of Parliament, 'be diſclaimed; And as the King will readily 'conſent to the Execution of all Laws made or 'to be made concerning Popery, and Reforma-'tion, ſo he deſires a Bill for the preſerving the '*Book of Common-Prayer* againſt Sectaries; And that 'all Perſons excepted againſt in the Treaty, may 'be Tryed *per Pares* by the Equals: That there 'be a Ceſſation of Arms, and a Free Trade.

This made way for a Treaty of Peace, but little was done in it till *March* 4. 1642. when Sir *Ben. Rudyard* one of the Commons, told the Parliament plainly, *That the War would ruine all*; whereupon they appointed Commiſſioners, that is, the E. of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Perpoints*, Sir. *William Ermine*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, who were to attend the King at *Oxford*.

Feb. 23. 1642. The Queen landed at *Burlington Key*, with Officers, Ammunition and Mony from *Holland*, from whence the E. of *Montroſs*, and the Lord *Ogilby* conveyed her to *York*, where ſhe was honourably received by the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Newcaſtle*, and there ſhe began to form her Army. In the mean time Coll. *Maſſey* advances againſt Capt. *Bridges*, who kept *Sudly Caſtle* in *Glocesterſhire*, with 60 Souldiers, and all other things ſufficient, for the L. *Shandois* on the Kings behalf; Coll. *Maſſy* offers to ſtorm the Caſtle, but is repulſed, yet next day he poſſeſſed the Garden under the Caſtle, and firing ſome hay and ſtraw, made ſo great

a ſmother in the Houſe, that taking the opportunity thereof, he planted his great Guns ſo conveniently as forced the Beſieged to ſurrender upon Quarter, leaving their Arms, and ingaging to pay 500 pounds in ſix days for the goods in the Caſtle, or elſe to loſe them.

Yet had the Parliament no great cauſe of boaſting of this Victory; For ſoon after *P. Rupert* with 4000 Horſe and Foot, making ſhew to regain it, marches to *Cirenceſter*, where the ſtrength and great part of the Magazine of the County lay, and *Feb.* 1. he maſters the Gaurd, and forces his Paſſage into the Town, which in two hours he gained, taking 1100 Priſoners, and 2000 Arms; And next day he ſummons *Gloceſter*, which Coll. *Maſſey* was reſolved to defend, and to ſtrengthen it, deſerts *Sudly Caſtle* and other out-Garriſons.

The Earl of *Worceſter* and his ſon the L. *Herbert* had now raiſed an Army of near 1500 *Welchmen* for the King, with whom he marched to the Forreſt of *Dean*, and beat Coll. *Bourroughs* Regiment out of a ſmall Town call'd *Coford* near *Monmoth*; from thence they march to *Hingham* within 2 miles of *Gloceſter*, and Coll. *Bret*, demands the Town for the King, but was anſwered with ſcorn; for *Maſſey* with aſſiſtance from Capt. *Fines* at *Briſtol*, weakned them with continual Shirmiſhes, till Sir *William Waller* having taking *Malmsbury* came to *Gloceſter*, ard joyned his Forces with the other, ſo that this *Welch* Army ſpent near five weeks without doing any Memorable Action.

But now Coll. *Maſſey* draws out all his Horſe, with 500 Foot, and ſome Ordnance, and held them play the firſt day; the next morning the great Guns give the Alarum, and both Parties engage

gage very fiercely, and the *Welch* were like to have routed him, and taken his Ordnance, at which inſtant Sir *William Waller* comes in to *Maſſeys* aſſiſtance, who taking courage thereby they run furiouſly upon the *Welchmen*, and drive them back to *Hingham* houſe, which they began preſently to batter with their Cannon; whereupon the *Welch* found a Parley, and ſurrender the Place, and themſelves Priſoners, but the Officers were to receive Quarter according to their Qualities; and next day *Waller* and *Maſſey* led their booty in Triumph to *Glocester*.

The aſſiſtance of the *Scots* had been formerly deſired by the Parliament, which (notwithſtanding their late Proteſtations not to take Arms againſt their Prince,) they now hearken to, and having compleated their Army, *March* 13. 1641. they croſs the River *Tyne*, and march *Southward*, to imploy the E. of *Newcaſtle*.

The *Iriſh* Rebels about this time (notwithſtanding the defeats they met with at *Tredagh* and *Dundalk*) were much increaſed in number; And the the Pope (a more unhappy Fiſher, than his pretended Predeceſſor St. *Peter*, who was for ſaving, but he for deſtroying men) ſends two Letters to them, one ſubſcribed to *Owen Oneal*, and the other to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Nobles and People of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in both which he commends thoſe who had already appeared in the Quarrel, and exhorts others to engage in the ſame, declaring his great Joy for their late Butcheries, and Maſſacres upon the *Proteſtants*, and beſtowing upon them his Fatherly Benediction, and Plenary Pardon and Abſolution for whatever Villanies they had committed. By the Popes thus publickly declaring himſelf for them, the Rebels grew very powerful, and

and many who were at first afraid of being concerned, now openly appeared for them, insomuch that all parts of *Ireland* were overwhelmed by them as with an Inundation.

This year was remarkable for the death of Cardinal *Richlieu* that great Firebrand and disturber of *Europe*, but more pertcularly these three Kingdoms, of whose distractions he was both a Principal causer, and Fomenter; He led the way to his Master *Lewis* 13. who deceased soon after in the midst of his Conquests in *Catalonia*, leaving for his successor his eldest son *Lewis* 14. (the present *French* King) under the Government of the Queen Dowager, and Cardinal *Mazarine* succeeded in *Richlieus* stead.

The year 1643. and the nineteenth of his Majesties Reign, began with a Treaty of Peace, which was formerly agreed on, but proceeded slowly, till it was again revived by Sir *Ben. Rudyard*; The Commissioners on both parties now met at *Oxford*, and began to Treat of the Kings Propositions, concerning his Revenue, Magazines, Forts, and Ships; And the Parliaments Propositions concerning the disbanding of Armies, which particulars taking up more time than the King expected, his Majesty *April* 12. 1643. sends this Message to the Parliament.

That as soon as he was satisfied concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forces, in which he desired nothing but his Just and Legal known Rights to be restored to him, and to Persons Trusted by him; And as soon as the Members of both Houses should be restored to the same capacity of sitting and Voting in Parliament as they had upon January 1. 1641. *(excluding such whose Votes had been taken away by Bill, or by New Elections, or New Writts:) And that as soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such Tumultuous Assemblies as to the High dishonour of the Parliament had*

awed the Members of the same (which he conceived could not otherwise be done, but by adjourning the Parliament to some place Twenty miles from London, *such as the Houses should agree upon,). His Majesty most chearfully and readily would consent to the disbanding of the Armies, and would return speedily to his Two Houses of Parliament, according to the Time and Place which they should agree upon.*

Upon this Message the Parliament resolved to call back their Commissioners, and so *April* 15. the Treaty ended; About the beginning of last *March* the L. *Brook* marched toward *Northampton*, and seizing the Ammunition there he went from thence to *Warwick*, and so to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, and beat Coll. *Crockers*, and Lt. Coll *Wagstaff*'s Forces out of that Town; after which Besiegeing *Litchfield*, one of the Kings Party shooting at a venture at the window of his Chamber, the bullet pierced him in the Eye, of which he immediately dyed, yet his Souldiers being heightned with Revenge, took the Close with the E. of *Chesterfield* and all his Souldiers and Ordnance; after which Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton* joining their Forces, fell upon the Parliamentarians at *Lichfield*, where the E. of *Northampton* was slain in the head of his Troop, yet Lieut. Coll. *Russel* who commanded it, despairing of succour, yielded up the Place to Prince *Rupert* upon Honourable Conditions, and marched away to *Coventry*.

April 17. 1643. the E. of *Essex* sate down before *Reading*, and made two assaults, but was repulsed; The King marched from *Oxford* to *Wallingford* for its relief, but *Essexes* Army increasing daily with fresh supplies from *London*, both Parties happened to Skirmish at *Causum Bridge*, where many of the Kings Forces were slain, and forced to retreat; whereupon the Town was a while after surrendred

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by Coll. *Fielding*, who was made Deputy Governour in the room of Sir *Arthur Aſton* who was diſabled by a bruiſe he received in his head with a Brick-bat: *Fielding* was for this Sentenced by a Council of War at *Oxford* to loſe his Head, but by the Interceſſion of Friends was pardoned.

May 3. *Cheapſide* Croſs was demoliſhed a Troop of Horſe, and two Companies of Foot waiting to ſee it done, and at the fall of the Top Croſs, Drums beat, Trumpets blew, and a great ſhout was made; *Charing-croſs*, and all other Croſſes in and about *London* were likewiſe pulled down about the ſame time.

In the mean time the breach between the King and Parliament became wider than ever; ſo that they proceeded to draw up Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen, ſome of which were; *That ſhe had pawned the Crown Jewells in* Holland, *That ſhe had favoured the the Rebellion in* Ireland, *That ſhe had endeavoured to raiſe a Party in* Scotland *againſt the Parliament, and that ſhe had gone in the head of a Popiſh Army in* England; Several other Articles were framed againſt her, upon which Mr. *Pym* carried up an Impeachment to the Lords, who ſeemed at firſt ſurprized therewith, but they afterward agreed to the Charge.

The Queen had about this time raiſed an indifferent Army of Horſe and Foot, and leaving ſome Horſe and Foot with Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* for defence of *Lincoln-ſhire*, and *Nottingham-ſhire*, ſhe with 3000 foot, three Companies of Horſe and Foot, ſix Canons, and two Mortar pieces, met the King at *Edge-hill*, and goes from thence with him to *Oxford*.

Several Encounters happened in the Weſt between Sir *Ralph Hopton* for the King, and Sir *G.*

Chudleigh then Commander of the Parliaments Forces, where ſometimes one Party was Victorious, and then the other; Collonel *Nath. Fines* Governour of *Briſtoll*, about this time diſcover'd a deſign of *Robert Yeomans*, and *George Bouchier* to deliver up that City to the Kings Forces, upon which they were Condemned by Council of War, and hanged *May* 30. notwithſtanding the Kings Letter to the Maior and Citizens, and General *Ruthens* to the Governour on their behalf; And ſo ends this month, famous by the Death of Mr. *John Pym* that active Perſon in the Houſe of Commons.

In *June* 1643. Mr. *Waller* a Member of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Haſel*, Mr. *Blinkhorn*, Mr. *White* and others, were Arraigned at *Guild-Hall London*, they being charged, *For deſigning to ſeize into their Cuſtody the Kings Children, ſome Members of Parliament, the L. Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, all the Cities Outworks, and Forts, the* Tower of London, *and all the Magazines, and then to let in the Kings Forces to ſurprize the City.* Upon this Indictment they were Tryed, and Condemned, but *Tomkins* and *Challoner* onely were hanged.

Some Skirmiſhes paſſed between the E. of *Eſſex* and P. *Rupert*, who ingaging about *Tame* in *Oxfordſhire*, The Prince routed a body of Horſe in *Chalgrave Field*, where Mr. *John Hambden* recieved his mortal wounds; but in the *Weſt* the Parliaments Forces had better ſucceſs, where they took in the Towns of *Taunton* and *Bridgewater*; At this time finding the want of a Great Seal, the Parliament after long debates Voted, *That a new Seal ſhould be made for Confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances*; which was forthwith done, and thereon was Ingraven the Picture of the Houſe of Commons and Members ſitting, and on the other ſide the Arms of *England* and

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reland; but between the Voting and making this Seal, they passed this Order, *That if the L. Keeper* Littleton *upon Summons did not return with the great Seal within fourteen dayes, he should lose his Place, and whatsoever should be Sealed therewith by him after that time, should be null and void in Law*; And presently after Mr. *Hen. Martin* a Member of Parliament seized upon the *Regalia* which were reposited in *Westminster Abby*; telling some of his Accomplices, *That the time would come wherein there would be no need of Crowns and Scepters.*

July 5. 1643. Sir *Will. Waller* meets with Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s Forces at *Landsdown* near *Bath*, who though fewer than Sir *Williams*, yet maintained the fight from two in the afternoon till one the next morning; and then Sir *Williams* Party forsook the Field; *Hopton* himself was hurt, and lost divers Gentlemen of note, but the Parliaments loss was more; *Hopton* marches to the *Devizes* in *Wilt-shire*, and *Waller* after him; whereupon the King sent 1500 Horse from *Oxford* to *Hoptons* relief; *Waller* draws off to *Roundway Down*, and there the Fight began, in which the Parliamentarians were defeated and fled, leaving the Foot to the mercy of their Adversaries, by whom hundreds of them were Slain, and more taken, with four brass Guns, Ammunition and Baggage, 28 Colours, and 9 Corners; *Waller* having thus lost his Army, posts to *London* with a few followers for Recruits. This Fight happened *July* 13.

Some difference arising in the *North* between L. *Fairfax* General for the Parliament, and Sir *John Hotham* Governour of *Hull*, who refused to submit to the L. *Fairfax*; the Parliament designed to displace *Hotham*, which he discovering by an intercepted Letter, began to project new designs, and his

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Son Capt. *Hotham* being ſuſpected by the Parliament was impriſoned at *Nottingham*, but made his eſcape and underhand Treated with the E. of *Newcaſtle*; Upon which Orders were ſent for ſeizing both Father and Son, which was done accordingly, together with his wife, and the reſt of his Children, who were all ſent up Priſoners to the Parliament; and ſome Months after Sir *John* and his Son were brought to Tryal in *Guild-hall*, the E. of *Mancheſter* and others being aſſigned their Judges; and the Father is charged, *That he had Traiterouſly betrayed the Truſt repoſed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemy, as appeared by his Words, by his Letters, and by his Actions, and that he held correſpondence with the Queen, the E. of* Newcaſtle, *L.* Digby, *and others of that Party, and had endeavoured to betray* Hull *to them.* His Son was charged with things of the ſame nature; upon which they were both Sentenced to be Beheaded, which was accordingly Executed, the Son *Jan.* 1. 1644. and the Father, the next day after.

But to return; *July* 4. 1643. P. *Rupert* ſits down before *Briſtoll*, and though Coll. *Fines* had formerly hanged up ſome Citizens for intending to have delivered up the Town to the Prince, yet nevertheleſs the deſign took effect, for being at that time very ill provided for reſiſtance, (which P. *Rupert* had notice of from his Correſpondents within) the Governour was conſtrained after 3 days Siege, to ſurrender it to him.

Aug. 12. the E. of *Lindſey* being freed from his impriſonment wherein he was ſince *Edge-hill* fight, came to the King at *Oxford*; and ſoon after P. *Maurice* beſieged *Exeter*, flinging in Granadoes and firing part of the Suburbs, upon which a fruitleſs Parley enſued; the next day the Prince maſters the Great Sconce,

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and turns the great Guns thereon upon the City, and then the Garriſon agreed to yield, the Officers only to part with their Swords, and the private Souldiers to march out with Cudgels in their hands. At this time Judge *Berkley* who had been impriſoned by the Parliament about *Ship-money*, was fined Twenty thouſand pound, made incapable of all Offices, and to continue a Priſoner during pleaſure.

The Parliament were now buſied for recruiting Sir *William Waller*'s Army, and to incline the *Londoners* to a more chearfull compliance, *Pennington* the L. Maior was made Lieutenant of the Tower; yet *Waller* was forced to ſtay becauſe *Eſſex* his Army wanted likewiſe Reinforcement; *Eſſex* muſters ten thouſand men at *Hounſlow Heath*; but this would not ſerve for ſo weighty an Affair as the relief of *Gloceſter*, now beſieged by the King, and he muſt therefore make uſe of the *London* Trained Bands.

Gloceſter was the place which ſtopt the current of the Kings ſucceſſes; *Maſſey* was Governour thereof, and had with him two Regiments of Foot, and an 100 Horſe, which with ſome other Recruits made up 1500 men, with forty Barels of Powder, and a ſlender Artillery; yet they within behaved themſelves like men of Reſolution, and Allarum'd the Beſiegers with frequent Sallies; The King plants his Cannon againſt the Gates, which made above 150 ſhot, and the Granadoes did ſome Execution in the Town, yet nothing abated the Spirits of the People. Whereupon the King prepares for a General Storm, and all was ready, they within being in want and having but three Barrels of Powder left, when news comes that *Eſſex* was on his March with a powerfull Army, to raiſe the Siege; whereupon after conſulta-

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tion had by the King with the General Officers, it was resolved, the Kings Army should draw off, which was done, and all their Hutts were set on fire, and *Sept.* 5. 1643. *Essex* enters into *Glocester*, and having furnished the City plentifully with provisions, went after the King, who at that Siege lost that opportunity of marching up to *London* (the Parliament having then no considerable Army in the Field) which he could never regain.

The War had hitherto continued in *Ireland*, and the *English* Army had commonly success against the Rebels, but the King now understanding the Parliaments contracting with the *Scots* for aid; thought fit to strengthen himself by recalling part of his Army there, hither; and commissionated the E. of *Ormond* his Lieut. General, to agree on a cessation for a year, which was concluded at *Singeston*, and *Sept.* 18. 1643. was proclaimed by the Lords Justices and Council at *Dublin*; and soon after some Forces from thence landed in *Wales*, and took *Hawerdin* Castle near *Chester* for the King.

The E. of *Essex* having relieved *Glocester*, speeds after the King, and passing by *Cirencester* left a strong Party there, where P. *Maurice* was expected that night; but instead of him, comes *Essex*, and being mistaken for the other, enters the Town without any Opposition, seizes 400 men, and 30 Cart loads of Provision, and then marches to *Newberry* where the King was before, and had gotten the advantage of the Ground, and planted his Ordnance; Early in the morning, *Sept.* 20. 1643. *Essex* views the Kings Army, and in *Newberry* Common draws up his own, and falls to firing, the Kings Army doing the like; That part of the Army which P. *Rupert* charged, being overlay'd, were forced to fall off on the Right hand, where two Great

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Bodies of Horſe marched down the Hill, and fell in furiouſly upon the Prince; both ſides acting with great valour and fury, and coming to hand-ſtrokes with their Swords.

The *Eſſexians* then wheeling about charged the L. *Jermins* Regiment, whom they forced to make their eſcape through ſome Bodies of Foot; this Battel cauſed great loſs and bloodſhed on either ſide, but greater on the Kings, whoſe other Bodies of Horſe commanded by the Earls of *Carnarvan*, and *Northampton*, notwithſtanding the great courage of their Commanders were overpowered, and the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, Viſcount *Falkland* and many other Officers and Gentlemen ſlain; The *London* Trained Bands and Auxiliaries did the Parliament great ſervice in this Fight; Night coming on, both Armies retired, and next day marched away from each other.

After this, ſeveral Places were Garriſoned for the King by Sir *William Vavaſor*, as *Tewkſbury*, *Shudley* Caſtle and other places in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, and ſoon after *Waller* again ſurpriſeth *Tewkſbury*, but is afterward beaten by P. *Maurice*: *Maſſey* and *Waller* take *Hereford*, and Sir *William Brereton* had the Town and Caſtle of *Eccleſhall* delivered upon reaſonable Quarter. An Ordinance is now publiſhed by the Parlirment to ſeize upon the Kings Revenue; And Sir *William Waller* is made Major General of *Hampſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, and marching to *Farnham* beat a Party of the Kings Army, and then took *Aulton* and *Arundell* Caſtle; Collonel *Norton* was routed by *Hopton*; and the Paliament finding the Kings Power increaſe, they publiſh, *That whoever ſhall aſſiſt the King with Horſe, Arms, Plate or Money againſt them, are Traytors to the Paliament, and ſhall be ſo proceeded againſt.* The King ſummons

mons a Parliament at *Oxford*, *Jan.* 22. 1643. where in the great Hall at *Chriſt-Church* he tells them, *That if he had the leaſt Thoughts of diſagreeing with the happineſs of this Kingdom, he would not adviſe with ſuch Counſellors as they were*; And ſo the upper Schools were aſſigned to the Lords, and the *Convocation* Houſe to the Commons. In this Parliament, beſides the Prince, D. of *York*, L. Keeper *Littleton*, Treaſurer *Cottington*, D. of *Richmond*, and Marqueſs of *Hartford*, there were 19 Earls and as many Lords, and 117 Knights and Gentlemen, and afterwards 5 Lords and 23 Gentlemen more came to them; The firſt thing they fell upon, was to conſider of means for effecting a Peace, to which end a Letter was written to the E. of *Eſſex*, and ſubſigned by all their hands, who returned no anſwer, but ſent it to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

Jan. 16. 1643. The *Scots* Army entred *England* by the way of *Newcaſtle*, being 18000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, under Gen. *Levens*; For *aſſiſting the Parliament in purſuance of the Solemn League and Covenant, and declaring the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, which they profeſs to be Reformation of Religion, Honour of the King, and Peace of the Kingdoms; and that the main end of their coming is to reſcue the King from his pernicious Counſellors.* The Parliament careſſe the *Scots* Army, and impower them to aſſeſs for themſelves the Twentieth part of all Malignants Eſtates (as they called them) in the *North*, beſides what other Counties were aſſeſſed for them. But the E. of *Newcaſtle* is marching to give them rougher entertainment, and the L. *Fairfax* ſent his Son Sir *Thomas* againſt him.

Sir *John Meldrum* with 700 men beſieged *Newark* and is blockt up by Prince *Rupert*, where-

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upon they parleyed, and upon Articles were ſuffered to march away, leaving their Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon and all other Fire-Arms behind them. In the mean time Matters are preparing for *Scotland* by *James* Marquſs of *Montrois* who had formerly ſided with the *Covinanters*, but now the King underſtanding he had really forſaken them, gives him a Commiſſion to be General Governor of *Scotland*, and orders him Forces to go into the heart of that Kingdom, for a diverſion to the *Scots*.

In the year 1644. the Twentieth of his Majeſties Reign, Sir. *Will. Waller* defeats the L. *Hoptons* Forces and takes *Winchester*, and *Oliver Cromwell* was made Governor of *Ely*; *Beadly* is ſurprized by Coll. *Fox* for the Parliament, and the Garriſons of *Selby* and *Heintough* are taken by the L. *Fairfax* and his Son, Prince *Rupert* raiſeth the ſiege at *Latham* Houſe. The King at this time in the preſence of the Peers at *Oxford* received the Sacrament at *Chriſts Church* at the hands of Biſhop *Uſher*, where he uſed theſe ſolemn Proteſtations:

My Lords, *I eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who declare to the world the Reſolution I do now make; I have to the utmoſt of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver, and may I ſo receive comfort by the Bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the True Reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy days of* Q. Elizabeth, *without any connivance at Popery; I bleſs God that in the midſt of theſe Publick Diſtractions I have ſtill Liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be my damnation if my heart do not joyn with my lips in this* Proteſtation.

The Parliament at *Weſtminſter* Voted it *Treaſon for any Member, or Member of either Houſe to deſert them, and to go to the King, and they never to be receiv-*

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ed again. The King marcheth out of *Oxford*, and followed by *Eſſex* and *Waller*, he defeats *Waller* at *Cropredy-Bridge*, and *Eſſex* is blockt up by the Kings Forces in *Cornwall*, and *July* 4*th.* the King ſends ſeveral Letters to the Parliament about a Treaty of Peace. *Sept.* 12. the Parliament at *Oxford* Aſſembled again but falling into Factions and Diviſions the King in *March* following Diſſolves them.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* was beſieged in *York* about two months, to whoſe relief Prince *Rupert* advanceth Northward with a great Power of Horſe and Foot, upon whoſe approach to the City the Beſeigers drew off, and thoſe within ſally out upon their Rear; the E. of *Newcaſtle* being thus relieved joyns with P. *Rupert*, reſolving to follow the Parliamentarians and give them battel, which accordingly they did upon a Plain called *Marſton-Moor* where about 5000 men were ſlain, for the Royaliſts having near routed the Parliaments Army purſued the Chace ſo far, that the Victory was ſnatcht out of their hands, and the Parliament obtained an entire Victory, after 3 hours Fight reſolutely maintained on both ſides: After which *York* was delivered up to the Parliament, and they ſoon became Maſters of all the *North*, and *Levens* the *Scotch* General takes *Newcaſtle*; After, this Battel which was the greateſt both for the fierceneſs of it, and for the number of Souldiers on both ſides, P. *Rupert* goes into *Lancaſhire*, but the E. of *Newcaſtle* lately made Marqueſs, with his two Sons, and his brother Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Cranworth*, the Biſhop of *London-derry*, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Coll. *Carnaby*, Col. *Baſſet*, Col. *Mouſon*, Sir *William Vavaſor*, Sir *Francis Mackworth* with about eighty other perſons, upon ſome diſcontent, refuſed

to engage any further in the Kings Cauſe, and went over to *Hamburgh*.

New Levies are now made by the Parliament and Attempts were made by the Parliamentarians upon *Dennington Caſtle*, but in vain; The Queen going from *Oxford* to *Exeter* was there delivered of a daughter, *June* 16 1644. who was called *Henrietta Maria*, and afterward went from thence to *Pendennis* Caſtle in *Cornwall* where ſhe embarqued for *France*, and did not return again to *England*, till his preſent Majeſties Happy Reſtoration in 1660. *Banbury* Caſtle is relieved by Sir *William Compton*, having been beſieged about 11 weeks by the Parliamens Forces; Coll. *Myn* is defeated by *Maſſy* near *Gloceſter*, and himſelf ſlain, and about 170 Officers and Souldiers taken Priſoners; Prince *Rupert* ſending 500 Horſe and Foot to fortifie *Beachly*, in order to his going to *Aſhferry*, they are routed by *Maſſey*, who ſoon after takes *Monmouth* Town.

Newberry ſeemed to be a Place deſtined for Martial exploits, for *October* 27. another great Battel was fought there, between the Kings party and the Parliaments, under *Eſſex*, *Waller*, and *Manchester*, wherein the *Royaliſts* were worſted, and between 4 and 5000 men ſlain on both ſides; *Novemb.* 19. *Monmouth* is retaken by the Kings Forces; *December.* 23. Sir. *Alexander Carew* was beheaded for endeavouring to deliver up the Iſland of *Plymouth* to the Kings Forces.

Two Principal *Iriſh* Rebels, the L. *Macguire*, and *Mac-mahon* had been ſent from *Ireland*, and impriſoned in the Tower, from whence they made their eſcape, but being retaken, and Tryed, were found guilty of High Treaſon, and were both Drawn, Hang'd and Quartered at *Tyburn*, though *Macguire* pleaded his Priviledge to the Lords, as a Peer of *Ireland*.

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Archbiſhop *Laud* having been accuſed by t
Parliament in 1640. as the framer of the Canons
Convocation, and other Delinquencies, and
Scots joyning him and the E. of *Strafford* in th
Grand Acculation, charging him for obtruding
Common Prayer Book, and *Canons and Conſtitut*
Eccleſiaſtical upon their Nation, and for adviſing
King to diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and other
matters, upon which he was firſt committed to
black Rod, and 10 weeks after Voted Guilty of *Hi*
Treaſon, and ſent to the Tower, where he contin
4 years; his Charge was, *endeavouring the ſubverſ*
1. *Of the Lawes*, 2. *Of Religion*, 3. *Of the Privilid*
of Parliament; And after many times attending on
Houſe, *Jan.* 4. 1644. they paſſed their *Ordinan*
Parliament. That he ſhould be drawn, hang'd and qu
tered; but upon his Petition, They voted him to
beheaded, which he ſuffered *Jan.* 10. after.

Jan. 30. a Treaty was begun at *Uxbridge* betwe
the King and Parliament, but took no effect: *Baſi*
Houſe was relieved by the Kings Forces, again
which Sir *William Waller* had loſt above 1000 me
About this time the E. of *Eſſex* was caſhiered
of his Command, and Sir. *Tho. Fairfax* was Vot
General of the Parliaments Forces; Col. *Roſſiter* w
defeated by Sir *Marm. Langdale* and the Kings party

In *April* 1645. Collonel *Miſſey* defeated by Prin
Rupert at *Ledbury*, and *Blechington Houſe* deliver
to the Parliament. In *May*, *Oxford* was beſieg
the firſt time, and *Leiceſter* taken by the King:
June, *Leiceſter* regained by the Parliament; *Carliſle* aft
41 weeks ſiege deliver'd by Sir *T. Glenham* to the *Scot*

June 14. 1645. was fought that unfortunate Ba
tell at *Naſeby*, which proved ſo fatal to the King a
his Cauſe: This fight was exceeding bloody, bot
Armies being very couragious and numerous, ther

being above 500 odds: On the Parliaments ſide
re ſlain and wounded above 1000 Officers and
vate Souldiers; but much more was the loſs on
the Kings ſide, there being taken 6 Collonels, 8
entenant Collonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 8 Lieu-
ants, 200 Enſigns and other inferior Officers, 4500
mmon Souldiers, many Women, 13 of the Kings
uſhold Servants, 4 Footmen, 12 pieces of Ordinance,
00 Arms, 48 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all
eir Bag and Baggage, with ſtore of rich Pillage,
000 Horſe, the Kings Standard, and one of his
oaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which
re afterwards publiſhed, ſo that it proved a com-
eat Victory to the Parliamentarians.

In *July*, the Kings Forces were defeated at *Lang-*
t, about 200 ſlain, and 1400 Priſoners: *Pomfret*
aſtle, *Bridgwater*, *Scarborough*, and *Bath*, deliver-
to the Farliament. In *Auguſt*, *Sherburn* Caſtle ta-
by the Parliament: In *Sept. Briſtoll* ſurrendred
them, and the Kings Forces worſted at *Routon*
ath: In *October*, *Baſing-Houſe* taken by *Cromwell*,
d L. *Digby* defeated in *York-ſhire*; in *Decemb. La-*
en Houſe delivered by the Kings Order, and *Here-*
d ſurpriz'd by the Parliament, before which
ace the *Scots* in *Auguſt* had loſt about 1000 men:
March, L. *Aſhly* defeated near *Stow*.

In *April*, 1646. *Ruthen* Caſtle *Exeter*, St. *Mich.*
Mount, *Dunſter* Caſtle, and *Woodſtock* yielded; *Corf*
aſtle taken by Stratagem: Sir *Tho. Fairfax* reſolves
march to *Oxford*, which put the King upon thoughts
providing for his own ſafety, and therefore *April*,
he goes out of *Oxford* in Diſguiſe with Mr. *Hud-*
n Miniſter, and Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, whoſe Ser-
nt he perſonated, and went to the *Scots* Army at
Newark. In *May*, *Oxford* was beſieged, and *Banbury*
and *Radnor* ſurrendred to the Parliament. In *June*,

Litchfield

Litchfield, *Worceſter*, *Wallingford* Caſtle, *Borſtall*, *Oxford*, and *Farringdon*, all yielded to the Parliament. In *July*, *Gothridge* and *Pendennis* the like, and *Corn* taken by Storm: In *Auguſt*, *Ragland* ſurrendred to the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*; In *September*, *Scilly* Iſland and Caſtle taken, *Denbigh* Caſtle alſo yielded. In *November*. Gen. *Fairfax* marched Triumphantly into *London*. In *February*, the *Scotch* Army having firſt ſold the King for two hundred thouſand Pound, marched into *Scotland*, and the King was ſent Priſoner to *Holmby* by the Parliament.

The King being now in the power of his Enemies they remove him from place to place, and at length into the *Iſle of Wight*, under the Guard of Coll. *Hammond*; and afterwards a Treaty of Peace was there begun, wherein things were ſo managed, that his Majeſties Conceſſions were Voted ſatisfactory: After which the Army and ſome part of the Parliament driving on an Intereſt contrary to Peace, turned all ſuch Members out of the Houſe of *Commons* as they thought would not comply with their Deſigns; and then conveyed the King to *Windſor*: During which time there happened ſeveral Bickerings and Ingagements between the *Royaliſts* and the *Parliamentarians*; the Royal Party being in all places defeated, eſpecially at *Maidſtone*, *Pontefract*, *Bow*, *Stratford*, *Kingſton* and *Preſton*, (where the *Scotch* Army received a very great Overthrow, loſing abundance of men:) And laſtly at *Colcheſter*, where thoſe two gallant Gentlemen Sir *Ch. Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle* were ſhot to death after quarter given, contrary to the Law of Arms.

After this, the Officers of the Army, and thoſe Members then left in the Houſe, proceeded to that height as to preſume to bring the King to Tryal; which becauſe it was an unparallel'd Action, it may be neceſſary to give a more particular Account thereof.

Upon

The King goes from Oxford in disguise

The Illegall Tryall of King Charles the I

The Martyrdom of King Charles 164

Upon the fourth of *January*, 1648. the House of Commons being turned into a Grand Committee, passed these following Votes. 1. *That the People under God are the Original of all just Power.* 2. *That the Commons of* England *Assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the Supream Authority of the Nation.* 3. *That whatsoever is Enacted and Declared for Law by the Commons of* England *Assembled in Parliament, hath the force of a Law.* 4. *That all the People of the Nation are included thereby; although the consent and concurrence of the House of Peers be not had thereunto.* 5. *That to raise Arms against the People Representative or Parliament, and to make War upon them, is* High Treason. 6. *That the King himself took Arms against the Parliament, and upon that account is guilty of the Blood-shed throughout the Civil War; and that he ought to expiate the same with his own Blood.*

After this they proceeded to make a pretended Act for the Tryal of the King, which they entituled, *An Act of the Commons of* England *Assembled in Parliament, for erecting of an* High Court of Justice *for the Trying and Judging of* CHARLES STUART *King of* England: which was in the form following.

WHereas *it is notorious, That* Charles Stuart *the now King of* England, *not content with those many incroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their* Rights *and* Freedoms, *hath had a wicked design totally to subvert the antient and fundamental Laws and Liberty of this Nation: And in their place, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, with fire and sword levyed and maintained a cruel War in the*

Land, against the Parliament and Kingdom; Where-by the Country hath been miserably wasted, the publick Treasury exhausted, Trade decayed, and thousands of People murthered, and infinite of other mischiefs committed; For all which High and Treasonable Offences, the said Charles Stuart *might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: Whereas also the Parliament, well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his Person, (after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands) would have quieted the disturbers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him: But found by sad experience, that such their remissives served only to encourage him and his Complices, in the Continuance of their evil practices, and in raising of new Commotions, Designs, and Invasions; For prevention therefore of the like greater inconveniencies, and to the end that no Magistrate or Officer whatsoever, may hereafter presume traiterously and malitiously to imagine or contrive the inslaving or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity in so doing:*

Be it Ordained and Enacted by the Commons in Parliament assembled, and it is hereby Ordained and enacted by the Authority thereof: That Thomas *L. F.* O. C. *&c.* ——— *shall be, and are hereby appointed Commissioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the said* Charles Stuart, *and the said Commissioners or any Twenty or more of them, shall be, and are hereby authorized and Constituted an High* Court of Justice, *to meet at such convenient times and places, as by the said Commissioners, or the major part, or twenty or more of them, under their Hands and Seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall or* Palace-yard *of* Westminster; *and adjourn from*

from time to time, and from Place to place, as the ſaid High Court, or the major part thereof meeting ſhould hold fit, and to take Order for charging of him the ſaid Charles Stuart *with the Crimes above-mentionad, and for the receiving his Perſonal Anſwer thereunto, and for Examination of Witneſſes upon Oath (if need be) concerning the ſame; and thereupon, or in default of ſuch Anſwer, to proceed to final Sentence according to Juſtice, and the merit of the Cauſe, and to be Executed ſpeedily and Impartially,* &c.

Preſently after this was publiſhed, Proclamation was made, *That thoſe who had any thing to ſay againſt the King, ſhould have a hearing given them:* This was proclamed firſt in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by the Serjeant at Arms to the Commiſſioners, Riding into the Hall with his Mace, attended with ſix Trumpeters and other Officers, who likewiſe rode bare into the Hall with him, the Drums of the Guard beating in the mean time without in the *Palace-yard*. And the day after Proclamation was made to the ſame effect in *Cheapſide*, and at the *Old-Exchange:* And in order to this grand Tryal, *Hillary Term* which uſually begins *Jan.* 23. was adjourned for fourteen dayes; The Houſe of Lords, refuſing to concur with the Commons in their Ordinance for the Kings Tryal, the Commons reſolve and Vote, *That all Members and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are impowered and enjoyned to Sit, Act, and Execute, notwithſtanding the Houſe of Peers joyn not with them.*

And now the Miniſters in general, and the Presbyterians likewiſe, who had been active againſt the Kings Cauſe, declare themſelves both in their

Pulpits, and by earneſt Petitions to the Parliament, to be zealous abhorrers of the Kings death, and every where publickly proteſt againſt this Tryal; The Nobility likewiſe offer themſelves Pledges on the Kings behalf; and the People univerſally ſeem greatly troubled and aſtoniſhed. Notwithſtanding all which the Houſe of Commons and the Army went deſperately on, and a New and Illegal Tribunal called *An High Court of Juſtice* was erected, the Commiſſioners whereof met in the *Painted Chamber* to conſult what courſe to take about the Tryal of the King.

Fryday Jan. 19. 1648. The King was brought with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe from *Windſor* to St. *James*'s; and the next day Serjeant *Bradſhaw* Preſident of the pretended *High Court of Juſtice*, with about ſeventy of the Members of the ſaid Court, having Coll. *Fox* and ſixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword born by Coll. *Humphrey*, and a Mace by Serj. *Dandy*, with their and other Officers of the ſaid Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their ſitting, at the Weſt end of the Great Hall in *Weſtminſter*; where the Lord Preſident in a Crimſon Velvet Chair, fixed in the midſt of the Court, placed himſelf having a Desk with a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him: The reſt of the Members placing themſelves on each ſide of him, upon the ſeveral Seats or Benches prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpoſe, and the Partizans dividing themſelves on each ſide of the Court before them.

The Court being thus ſet, and ſilence made, the great Gate of the ſaid Hall was ſet open, to the end, That all perſons, without exception, deſirous to ſee, or hear, might come into it; upon

upon which the Hall was presently filled, and Silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel *Thomlinson*, who had the charge of the King, as a Prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hours space brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being Coll. *Hacker* and other Gentlemen, to whose care and Custody he was likewise committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him streight to the Bar, where a Crimson Velvet Chair was set for the King. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court, but presently rises up again, and turns about looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After Silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who sate on one side of the Table covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the said Act, the several Names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, rising up, and answering to his Call.

The King having again placed himself in his Chair, with his face towards the Court, Silence

being again ordered, the Lord Preſident ſtood up and ſaid:

Preſident. CHARLES STUART, King of *England*; The Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply ſenſible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, (which is fixed upon you, as the Principal Author of them) have reſolved to make inquiſition for Blood, and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Juſtice, to God, the Kingdom, and themſelves, and according to the Fundamental Power that reſts in themſelves, They have reſolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgment; and for that purpoſe have conſtituted this High Court of Juſtice, before which you are brought.

This ſaid, Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General for the Common-wealth (ſtanding within a Bar on the right hand of the King) offered to ſpeak; but the King having a Staff in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the ſaid Mr. *Cooks* ſhoulder two or three times, bidding him hold: Nevertheleſs, the Lord Preſident ordering him to go on, he ſaid:

Cook. My Lord, I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, in the name of the Commons of *England*, with Treaſon and high Miſdemeanours; I deſire the ſaid Charge may be read.

The ſaid Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord Preſident ordered it ſhould be read, but the King bid him hold; Nevertheleſs, being commanded by the Lord Preſident to read it, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of England *against* CHARLES STUART *King of* England, *of High Treason, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice.*

'THat the ſaid *Charles Stuart* being admitted King of *England*, and therein truſted with a Limited Power, to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe; And by his Truſt, Oath, and Office, being obliged to uſe the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect, and uphold in himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; Yea, to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redreſs and remedy of miſgovernment, which by the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, were reſerved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments, or National meetings in Councel; He, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, for accompliſhment of ſuch his Deſigns, and for the protecting of himſelf and his Adherents, in His and their wicked practices to the ſame end, hath traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied War againſt the preſent Parliament, and the people therein repreſented.

'Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of *June*, in the year of our Lord, One thouſand

'six hundred forty and two, at *Beverly* in the 'County of *York*; And upon or about the thir-'tieth day of *July*, in the year aforesaid, in the 'County of the City of *York*; and upon, or about 'the twenty fourth day of *August*, in the same 'year, at the County of the Town of *Nottingham*, '(when, and where he set up his Standard of 'War,) and upon, or about the twenty third 'day of *October*, in the same year, at *Edge-Hill*, 'and *Keinton-field*, in the County of *Warwick*; 'And upon or about the thirtieth day of *Nov.* 'in the same year, at *Brainford* in the County 'of *Middlesex*: And upon, or about the thirtieth 'day of *Aug.* in the year of our Lord, One thou-'sand six hundred forty and three at *Caveshām-'bridge* neer *Reding*, in the County of *Berks*: And 'upon, or about the thirtieth day of *October*, in 'the year last mentioned, at, or near the City of 'Glocester; And upon, or about the thirtieth day 'of *November*, in the year last mentioned, at 'Newberry, in the County of *Berks*; and upon, 'or about the one and thirtieth day of *July*, 'in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hun-'dred forty and four, at *Cropredy-bridge*, in the 'County of *Oxon*; And upon, or about the thir-'tieth day of *September*, in the last year menti-'oned, at *Bodmin*, and other places near adja-'cent, in the County of *Cornwall*; And upon, or 'about the thirtieth day of *November*, in the last 'year mentioned, at *Newberry* aforesaid: And up-'on or about the Eighth of *June*, in the year 'of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty 'and five, at the Town of *Leicester*; and also 'upon the fourteenth day of the same month, 'in the same year, at *Naseby-field*, in the County 'of *Northampton*. At which several times and pla-

'ces

'ces, or moſt of them, and at many other pla-
'ces in this Land, at ſeveral other times, within
'the years aforementioned: And in the year of
'our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and
'ſix: He the ſaid *Ch. Stuart*, hath cauſed and
'procured many thouſands of the Free-people of
'the Nation to be ſlain; and by Diviſions, par-
'ties, and inſurrections, within this Land, by In-
'vaſions from Foreign parts, endeavoured and
'procured by him, and by many other evil wayes
'and means; He the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, hath not
'onely maintained and carried on the ſaid War,
'both by Land and Sea, during the years before
'mentioned; but alſo hath renewed, or cauſed
'to be renewed, the ſaid War againſt the Parlia-
'ment, and good people of this Nation, in this
'preſent year, One thouſand ſix hundred forty
'and eight, in the Counties of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Sur-
'rey*, *Suſſex*, *Middleſex*, and many other Counties
'and places in *England* and *Wales*, and alſo by
'Sea: and particularly, He the ſaid *Charles Stuart*,
'hath for that purpoſe, given Commiſſion to his
'Son, the Prince and others; whereby, beſides
'multitudes of other perſons, many ſuch, as were
'by the Parliament intruſted and imployed for
'the ſafety of the Nation, being by Him or His
'Agents, Corrupted, to the betraying of Their
'Truſt, and revolting from the Parliament, have
'had entertainment and Commiſſion, for the con-
'tinuing and the renewing of War and Hoſtility,
'againſt the ſaid Parliament and people, as afore-
'ſaid. By which cruel and unnatural Wars by
'Him the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, levyed, continued,
'and renewed, as aforeſaid, much Innocent Blood
'of the Free-People of this Nation hath been
'ſpilt, many Families have been undone, the pub-
'lick

'lick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade ob-'ſtructed, and miſerably decayed; vaſt expence, 'and damage to the Nation incurred, and ma-'ny parts of the Land ſpoyled, ſome of them 'even to deſolation.

'And for further proſecution of his ſaid evil 'Deſigns, He, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, doth ſtill 'continue his Commiſſions to the ſaid Prince, 'and other Rebels and Revolters, both Engliſh 'and Forreigners, and to the Earl of *Ormond*, and 'to the *Iriſh* Rebels and Revolters aſſociated with 'him: from whom further Invaſions upon this 'Land are threatned, upon the procurement and 'on the behalf of the ſaid *Charles Stuart*.

'All which wicked Deſigns, Wars, and evil 'practices of him the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, have 'been, and are carried on, for the advancing 'and upholding of the perſonal Intereſt of Will 'and Power, and pretended Prerogative to Him-'ſelf and his Family, againſt the publick Intereſt, 'Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace of 'the people of this Nation, by, and for whom 'he was entruſted, as aforeſaid.

'By all which it appeareth, that he the ſaid '*Charles Stuart*, hath been, and is the Occaſio-'ner, Author, and Contriver of the ſaid Unnatu-'ral, Cruel and Bloody Wars, and therein guilty 'of all the Treaſons, Murthers Rapines, Burnings, 'Spoils, Deſolations, Damage and Miſchief to this 'Nation acted or committed in the ſaid Wars, 'or occaſioned thereby.

'And the ſaid *John Cook*, by proteſtation (ſa-'ving on the behalf of the people of *England*, 'the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter 'any other Charge againſt the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, 'and alſo of replying to the Anſwers which the

'ſaid

'ſaid *Ch. Stuart* ſhall make to the Premiſes, or 'any of them, or any other Charge that ſhall be 'ſo Exhibited) doth for the ſaid Treaſons and 'Crimes, on the behalf of the ſaid people of '*England*, Impeach the ſaid *Charles Stuart* as a 'Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, and a publick and 'implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of '*England*: And pray, that the ſaid *CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*, may be put to 'anſwer All, and Every the Premiſes; That ſuch 'Proceedings, Examinations, Trials, Sentence, and 'Judgment may be thereupon had, as ſhall be agree-'able to Juſtice.

IT is obſerved, that the time the Charge was reading, the King ſate down in his Chair, looking ſometimes on the Court, ſometimes up to the Galleries, and having riſen again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, ſate down, looking very ſternly, with a countenance not at all moved, till theſe words, *viz. Charles Stuart* (to be a *Tyrant* and *Traitor*, *&c.*) were read, at which he laughed as he ſate in the face of the Court.

Charge being read, the Lord Preſident replyed,

Preſident. Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing ſuch matters as appear in it; you find, That in the cloſe of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons* of *England*, that you anſwer to your Charge. The Court expects your Anſwer.

King. 'I would know by what Power I am call-'ed hither? I was, not long ago, in the *Iſle of* '*Wight*, how I came there, is a longer ſtory than 'I think is fit at this time for me to ſpeak of; 'but there I entred into a *Treaty* with both Hou-'ſes of *Parliament*, with as much publick Faith as 'tis poſſible to be had of any people in the world. 'I treated there with a number of Honourable 'Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honeſtly and 'uprightly,

'uprightly; I cannot say but they did very nobly 'with me, we were upon a conclusion of the Trea- 'ty. Now I would know by what Authority, I 'mean, lawful; there are many unlawful Authori- 'ties in the world, Thieves and Robbers by the 'high wayes; but I would know by what Authori- 'ty I was brought from thence, and carried from 'place to place, (and I know not what;) and when 'I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer. 'Remember I am your King, and what sins you 'bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of God 'upon this Land, think well upon it, I say, think 'well upon it, before you go further from one sin 'to a greater, therefore let me know by what law- 'ful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not 'be unwilling to answer; in the mean time I shall 'not betray my Trust. I have a Trust committed 'to me by God, by old and lawful Descent, I 'will not betray it to answer to a new unlawful 'Authority, therefore resolve me that, and you shall 'hear more of me.

President. If you had been pleased to have ob- served what was hinted to you, by the Court, at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority, requires you, in the name of the people of *England*, of which you are Elected King, to answer them.

King. 'No Sir, I deny that.

President. If you acknowledge not the Autho- rity of the Court, they must proceed.

King. 'I do tell them so, *England* was never an 'Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for 'neer these thousand years, therefore let me know 'by what Authority I am called hither: I do stand 'more for the Liberty of my people than any here 'that come to be my pretended Judges; and there-

'fore

'fore let me know by what lawful Authority I 'am ſeated here, and I will anſwer it, otherwiſe I 'will not anſwer it.

Preſident. Sir, how really you have managed your Truſt, is known: your way of anſwer is to interrogate the Court, which beſeems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. 'Here is a Gentleman, (Lieut. Col. *Cobbet*) 'ask him, if he did not bring me from the *Iſle* 'of *Wight* by force? I do not come here as ſub- 'mitting to the Court; I will ſtand as much for the 'Priviledge of the Houſe of Commons, rightly 'underſtood, as any man here whatſoever. I ſee no 'Houſe of Lords here that may conſtitute a Par- 'liament, and (the King too) ſhould have been. 'Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? 'Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the 'publick Faith of the world? Let me ſee a legal Au- 'thority warranted by the Word of God, the Scrip- 'tures, or warranted by the Conſtitutions of the 'Kingdom, and I will anſwer.

Preſident. Sir. You have propounded a Que- ſtion, and have been anſwered: ſeeing you will not anſwer, the Court will conſider how to proceed; in the mean time, thoſe that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

The Court deſires to know whether this be all the Anſwer you will give, or no?

King. 'Sir, I deſire that you would give me, and 'all the world, ſatisfaction in this; let me tell you, 'it is not a ſlight thing you are about. I am ſworn to 'keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my 'Country, and I will do it to the laſt breath of my 'body, and therefore you ſhall do well to ſatisfie firſt 'God, and then the Country, by what Authority

'you

'you do it; if you do it by a uſurped Authority, 'that will not laſt long. There is a God in Heaven 'that will call you, and all that give you power, 'to account: Satisfie me in that, and I will anſwer, 'otherwiſe I betray my truſt, and the Liberties of 'the People, and therefore think of that, and then I ſhall be willing. For I do avow, that it is a 'great a ſin to withſtand lawful Authority, as it is to 'ſubmit to a Tyrannical, or any other wayes unlaw-'ful Authority; and therefore ſatisfie God, and me, 'and all the World in that, and you ſhall receive 'my Anſwer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

Preſident. The Court expects you ſhould give them a final Anſwer; their purpoſe is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our Authority; we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that peace you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent work.

King. 'Let me tell you, if you will ſhew me 'what lawful Authority you have, I ſhall be ſatis-'fied: But that you have hitherto ſaid, ſatisfies no 'reaſonable man.

Preſident. That's in your apprehenſion, we think it reaſonable that are your *Judges.*

King. ''Tis not my apprehenſion, nor yours nei-'ther, that ought to decide it.

Preſident. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this dayes proceedings.

1. It is obſerved, That as the Charge was reading againſt the King, the ſilver head of his Staff fell off, the which he wondered at, and ſeeing none to take it up, he ſtoop'd for it himſelf, and put it in his pocket.

2. That

2. That as the King was going away, he looking with a very auſtere countenance upon the Court, without ſtirring of his Hat, replyed, *Well Sir,* (when the *L. Preſident* commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down, he ſaid, *I do not fear that,* (pointing with his ſtaff at the Sword.) The people in the Hall, as he went down the ſtairs cryed out, ſome, *God ſave the King,* and ſome for *Juſtice.*

O yes being called, the Court adjourned till Monday next, *January* 22. at 9. in the morning to the Painted Chamber, and from thence to the ſame place again in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

January 21. being Sunday, the Commiſſioners kept a Faſt at *White-Hall*; there Preached Mr. *Spigge*, his Text was, *He that ſheds Mans blood, by Man ſhall his blood be ſhed:* next, Mr. *Foxeley*, his Text *Judge not, leaſt you be judged.* Laſt, was Mr. *Peters*, his Text was, *I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron.*

At the High-Court of Juſtice *ſitting in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *Monday, Jan.* 22. 1648.

OYes made: Silence commanded, The Court called, and anſwered to their Names.

Silence commanded upon pain of impriſonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all ſuch as make diſturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in a ſhout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his cuſtody thoſe who make any diſturbance.

Mr. *Solicitor.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord Preſident, I did at the laſt Court in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon and other high Crimes, againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was read unto him,

him, and his Anſwer required. My Lord, he was not then pleaſed to give an Anſwer, but in ſtead of anſwering, did there diſpute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in behalf of the People of *England*, is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion or Negation; which if he ſhall refuſe to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.

Preſident. Sir, You may remember at the laſt Court, you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge againſt you, containing a Charge of high Treaſon, and other high Crimes, againſt this Realm of *England*; you heard likewiſe that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch proceedings might be had, as ſhould be agreeable to juſtice; you were then pleaſed to make ſome ſcruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwered, that it was by Authority of the *Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to an account for thoſe high and capital miſdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into Conſideration what you then ſaid; they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you, they do expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny it; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Nation to be made good againſt you;

your; their Authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied with it, and therefore you are to loſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſwer thereunto.

King. 'When I was here laſt, 'tis true, I made 'that Queſtion, and truly if it were onely my own 'particular caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with 'the Proteſtation I made the laſt time I was here 'againſt the Legality of this Court, and that a King 'cannot be tryed by any Superiour Juriſdiction on 'Earth; but it is not my caſe alone, it is the Free-'dom and the Liberty of the people of *England*; 'and do you pretend what you will, I ſtand more 'for their Liberties. For if power without Law, 'may make Laws, may alter the fundamental 'Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Sub-'ject he is in *England*, that can be ſure of his life, 'or any thing that he calls his own; therefore when 'that I came here, I did expect particular Rea-'ſons to know by what Law, what Authority you 'did proceed againſt me here, and therefore I am 'a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this parti-'cular, becauſe the Affirmative is proved, the Ne-'gative often is very hard to do: but ſince I can-'not perſwade you to do it, I ſhall tell you my 'Reaſons as ſhort as I can.

'My Reaſons why in Conſcience, and the duty 'I owe to God firſt, and my People next, for the 'preſervation of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; 'I conceive I cannot anſwer this, till I be ſatisfied 'of the legality of it.

'All proceedings againſt any man 'whatſoever———

Here the King would have delivered his Reaſons.

Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what

your

you do, is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Juſtice; you are about to enter into Argument, and diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to diſpute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to ſubmit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Anſwer, whether you will anſwer to your Charge or no, and what your Anſwer is.

King. 'Sir by your favour, I do not know the 'forms of Law, I do know Law and Reaſon, though 'I am no Lawyer profeſſed, yet I know as much 'Law as any Gentleman in *England*; and therefore '(under favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the 'People of *England* more than you do, and there-'fore if I ſhould impoſe a belief upon any man 'without Reaſons given for it, it were unreaſona-'ble; but I muſt tell you, That by that Reaſon that I 'have as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.

Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you ſpeak of Law and Reaſon, it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, it is the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are theſe too that have given that Law, according to which you ſhould have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. 'I do not know how a King can be a 'Delinquent: not by any Law that ever I heard 'of, all men (Delinquents or what you will) 'let

let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers against any proceedings as Legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons, if you deny that, you deny Reason.

President. Sir, you have offered something to the Court, I shall speak something unto you the Sence of the Court; Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur the Jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors, and you are responsible to them.

King. 'I deny that, shew me one Presi-dent——

President. Sir you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. 'I say Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of *England* was never a Court of Judicature, I would know how they came to be so.

President. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as follow-eth.

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *You have been accused on the behalf of the People of* England, *of High Treason, and other high Crimes, the Court have determined, that you ought to answer the same.*

King. 'I will answer the same as soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

Presi-

President. If this be all that you will ſay, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. 'I do require that I may give in my 'Reaſons why I do not Anſwer, and give me 'time for that.

President. Sir, 'Tis not for Priſoners to require.

King. 'Priſoners! Sir, I am not an ordinary 'Priſoner.

President. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction; if you will not anſwer, we ſhall give order to record your default.

King. 'You never heard my Reaſons yet.

President. Sir, your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdicton.

King. 'Shew me that Juriſdiction, where Rea- 'ſon is not to be heard.

President. Sir, We ſhew it you here, the Commons of *England*; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleaſure of the Court, and it may be, their final determination.

King. 'Shew me wherever the Houſe of Com- 'mons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

President. Serjeant take away the Priſoner.

King. 'Well Sir, remember that the King is 'not ſuffered to give his Reaſons for the Liberty 'and Freedom of all his Subjects.

President. Sir, You are not to have liberty to uſe this language; how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England* and the World judge.

King. 'Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty, 'Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I

'took

took —— defended my ſelf with Arms; I never took up Arms againſt the People, but for my people and the Laws.

Preſident. The command of the Court muſt be obeyed; no Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

King. 'Well Sir.

Then the Lord Preſident ordered the default to be recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no anſwer would be given to the Charge.

And ſo was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cotton's* houſe.

Then the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tueſday at twelve a clock, and from thence they intended to adjourn to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at which time all perſons concerned were to give their attendance.

Reſolutions of the Court at their meeting in the Painted Chamber, Lunæ Jan. 22. 1648.

This day the King being withdrawn from the Bar of the High Court of Juſtice, the Commiſſioners of the ſaid High Court of Juſtice ſate private in the Painted Chamber, and conſidered of the Kings carriage upon the *Saturday* before, and of all that had then paſſed, and fully approved of what the *Lord Preſident* had done and ſaid in the managing of the buſineſs of that day, as agreeing to their ſence. And perceiving what the King aimed at, *viz.* to bring in queſtion (if he could) the Juriſdiction of the Court, and the Authority thereof, whereby they ſate; and conſidering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any ſort to be a Court or his Judges; and through their ſides intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supream

pream Authority of the Commons of *England*, in their Repreſentatives the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, after advice with their Councell learned in both Laws, and mature deliberation had of the matter:

Reſolved, That the King ſhould not be ſuffered to argue the Courts Juriſdiction, of that which conſtituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Conuſance, nor could they, being a derivative Judge of that Supream Court which made them Judges, from which there was no Appeal, and did therefore order and direct, *viz.*

Ordered, That in caſe the King ſhall again offer to diſpute the Authority of the Court, the *Lord Preſident* do let him know, that the Court have taken into conſideration his demands of the laſt day, and that he ought to reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer; That the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament have conſtituted this Court, whoſe power may not, nor ſhould be permitted to be diſputed by him.

That in caſe the King ſhall refuſe to anſwer or acknowledge the Court, the *Lord Preſident* do let him know that the Court will take it as a Contumacy, and that it ſhall be ſo Recorded.

That in caſe he ſhall offer or anſwer with a *ſaving*, notwithſtanding of his pretended Prerogatives, above the juriſdiction of the Court, That the *Lord Preſident* do in the Name of the Court refuſe his proteſt, and require his poſitive Anſwer, whether he will own the Court or not.

That in caſe the King ſhall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he ſhall then declare his intention to Anſwer, and that declaring his intention, a Copy be granted unto him.

That in caſe the King ſhall ſtill perſiſt in his con-

contempt, the *Lord Preſident* do give command to the Clerk, to demand of the King, in the name of the Court, in theſe words following, *viz.*

Charles Stuart King of *England*, you are accuſed in the behalf of the People of *England*, of divers high Crimes and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a poſitive Anſwer, to confeſs or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to Anſwer the ſame.

At the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, *Tueſday*, Jan. 23. 1648.

O yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three Perſons preſent.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an auſtere countenance upon the Court, and ſits down.

The ſecond O Yes made, and ſilence commanded.

Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my *Lord Preſident*,

This is now the third time that by the great grace, and favour of this High Court, the Priſoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any Iſſue joyned in the Cauſe. My Lord, I did at the firſt Court exhibit a Charge againſt him, containing the higheſt Treaſon that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of *England*: that a King of *England*, truſted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath ſo to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a wicked deſign to ſubvert and deſtroy our Lawes, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for War againſt his Parliament and People; and I did hum-

humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of *England*; that he might ſpeedily be required to make an anſwer to the Charge.

But, my Lord, inſtead of making any Anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court; your Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider, and to put in his Anſwer, which day being yeſterday, I did humbly move that he might be required to give a direct and poſitive anſwer, either by denying, or confeſſion of it; but (my Lord) he was then pleaſed for to demurre to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then overrule, and command him to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer. My Lord, beſides this great delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move your Lordſhip for ſpeedy Judgment againſt him. My Lord, I might preſſe your Lordſhip upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not put in an iſſuable plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal; That as by an implicite confeſſion, it may be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerved more favour than the Priſoner at the Bar has done: but beſides, my Lord, I ſhall humbly preſſe your Lordſhip upon the whole Fact; the Houſe of Commons, the Supream Authority and Juriſdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth, (my Lord) as clear as Chryſtal, and as the Sun that ſhines at noon-day; which if your Lordſhip and the Court be not ſatisfied in, I have notwithſtanding, on the people

people of *Englands* behalf, several witnesses to produce: And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I must confess it is not so much I, as the innocent blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for justice and judgment, and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy *Judgement* be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

President. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Councel on the behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands: you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own jurisdiction: That it was not for you, nor any other man, to dispute the *Jurisdiction of the Supreme and highest Authority of* England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *High Court, that constituted this Court of Justice.*

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, That they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the supreme *Court of England*, to be thus trifled withall, and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage of these delayes, and proceed to pronounce judgment against you; yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this Charge that is against you: Sir, in plain terms; for Justice knows no respect of persons, you are to

give your positive and final Answer in plain *English*, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King after a little pause, said,

'When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak 'for the *Liberties of the People of England*; I was in-'terrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may 'speak freely or not.

President. Sir you have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, That having such a Charge of so high a Nature against you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, *and to Answer to your Charge.* Sir, if you Answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your Contempt, yet if you be able to Answer to your Charge, when you have once Answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the *Matter* that is *Charged* upon you.

King. 'For the *Charge* I value it not a Rush, it 'is the *Liberty* of the people of *England* that I stand 'for; for me to acknowledge a new *Court*, that I 'never heard of before, I that am your King, that 'should be an example to all the people of *England*, 'for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws; 'indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke 'very well the first day that I came here, (on Satur-'day) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me 'by God, to the maintenance of *the Libertyes of my People*: The same Obligation you speak of, I do

'acknow-

acknowledge to God that I owe to Him, and to my people, to defend, as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom; therefore until that I may know that this is not againſt the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, by your favour, I can put in no particular Anſwer: If you will give me time, I will then ſhew you my Reaſons why I cannot do it, and this———————

Here being interrupted, he ſaid,

'By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me; how I came here, I know not, there's no Law for it, to make your King your Priſoner: I was lately in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known——— the two Houſes of Parliament, that was the Repreſentative of the Kingdom, and when that I had almoſt made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither, and therefore———————

Here the *Preſident* interrupted him and ſaid, Sir, you muſt know the pleaſure of the Court.

King. 'By your favour Sir,———————

Preſident. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into theſe diſcourſes; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court; the Court craves it not of you, and once more they command you to give your poſitive Anſwer———————*Clerk.* Do your Duty.

King. 'Duty Sir!

The Clerk reads,

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *you are accuſed in the behalf of the Commons of* England *of divers high Crimes and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your poſitive and final Anſwer, by way of confeſſion, or denyal of the Charge.*

King. 'Sir; I say again to you, so that I might 'give satisfaction to the people of *England* of the 'clearness of my proceedings, not by way of An- 'swer, not in this way, but to satisfie them that I 'have done nothing against that Trust that hath 'been committed to me, I would do it; but to ac- 'knowledge a new Court against their Priviledges, 'to alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; 'Sir, you must excuse me.

President. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly disowned the Court, and put an affront upon it; how far you have preserved the Priviledges of the people, your Actions have spoke it; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court: ——————————Clerk Record the default, ——————————and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. 'I will onely say this one word to you, If 'it were only my own particular, I would not say 'any more, nor interrupt you.

President. Sir, you have heard the pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all persons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in Westminster-Hall *by Ten of the clock the next morning.*

Cryer. God bless the Kingdom of *England.*

His

His Majeſty intended to have delivered in writing his Reaſons againſt the Pretended Juriſdiction of the High Court of Juſtice, upon Monday, *Jan.* 22. but was not permitted.

Saturday the 27. *of* January, 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called; Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, Lord *Preſident*, in his Scarlet Robe (ſuitable to the work of this day) with ſixtie eight other Members of the Court called. As the King came into the Court, in his uſual poſture with his Hat on, a Cry made in the Hall by ſome of the Souldiers for *Juſtice*, *Juſtice*, and *Execution*.

King. 'I ſhall deſire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption.

Preſident. You may anſwer in your time, hear the Court firſt.

King. 'If it pleaſe you, Sir, I deſire to be 'heard, and I ſhall not give any occaſion of in'terruption, and it is only in a word; a ſudden 'judgment———

Preſident. You ſhall be heard in due time, but You are to hear the Court firſt.

King. 'Sir, I deſire it, it will be in order to 'what I believe the Court will ſay; and there'fore, Sir, a haſtie Judgment is not ſo ſoon re'called.

Preſident. Sir, you ſhall be heard before the Judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. 'Well Sir, ſhall I be heard before the 'judgment be given?

Preſident. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or moſt of you here preſent, That the Priſoner at the Bar hath been ſeveral times convented

and brought before the Court to make answer to a Charge of Treason and other high Crimes exhibited against him in the Name of the People of *England*; to which Charge, being required to Answer, he hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer reasoning and debate unto the Authoritie of the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted them to try and judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or Answer: Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, to the trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulness prevent Justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their consideration; They have considered of the Contumacy, and of that confession which in Law doth arise upon that contumacy; They have likewise considered of the notoriety of the Fact charged upon the Prisoner, and upon the whole matter they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounced against this Prisoner: but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him; yet Sir, thus much I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts; that if that you have to say be to offer any Debate concerning jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the root, that is, the power and *Supreme Authority of the Commons of England*, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and

Here an honourable Lady interrupted the Court, saying, Not half the People, *but she was soon silenced.*

which

which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they ſhould preſume to judge upon their Superiority, from whom there is no Appeal. But Sir, if you have any thing to ſay in defence of your ſelf concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King. 'Since that I ſee that you will not hear 'any thing of debate concerning that which I con-'feſs I thought moſt material for the peace of the 'Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, 'I ſhall wave it, I ſhall ſpeak nothing to it; but 'only I muſt tell you, That this many a day all 'things have been taken away from me, but that, 'that I call more dear to me than my life, which is '*My Conſcience and my Honour*; and if I had reſpect 'to my life more than the Peace of the Kingdom, 'the *Liberty of the Subject*, certainly I ſhould have 'made a particular defence for my ſelf, for by that 'at leaſt-wiſe I might have delayed an ugly Sen-'tence, which I believe will paſs upon me; There-'fore certainly, Sir, as a man that hath ſome under-'ſtanding, ſome knowledge of the world, if that 'my true zeal to my Countrey had not overborn 'the care that I have of my own preſervation, I 'ſhould have gone another way to work than that 'I have done: Now Sir, I conceive that an haſtie 'Sentence once paſt, may be ſooner repented than 'recalled: And truly the ſelf ſame deſire that I 'have for *the Peace of the Kingdome, and the Liberty* 'of the Subject, more than my own particular, does 'make me now at laſt deſire, That having ſome-'thing for to ſay that concerns both, I deſire before 'Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the 'Painted Chamber before the Lords and Com-'mons;

'mons; this delay cannot be prejudicial to you 'whatsbever I say, if that I say no Reason, those that 'hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that 'that I have; if it be Reason, and really for the *wel-'fare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject*, 'I am sure on it very well, it is worth the hearing; 'Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that you 'pretend, I hope it is real, *the Liberty of the Sub-'ject*, *the Peace of the Kingdom*; that you will grant 'Me the hearing, before any Sentence be passed; I 'only desire this, that you will take this into your 'consideration, it may be you have not heard of it 'before-hand; if you will, I'le retire, and you 'may think of it: but if I cannot get this *Liberty*, I 'do here protest, that so fair shews of *Liberty and 'Peace* are pure shews, and not otherwise, then that 'you will not hear your KING.

President. Sir, You have now spoken?

King. 'Yes Sir.

President. And this that you have said is a further declining of the *Jurisdiction of this Court*, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. 'Pray excuse me Sir, for my interrupti-'on, because you mistake me, it is not a declining 'of it, you do judge me before you hear me speak: 'I say it will not, I do not decline it, though I can-'not acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court; 'yet Sir, in this give Me leave to say, I would do it, 'though I did not acknowledge it in this, I do pro-'test it is not the declining of it, since I say, if that 'I do say any thing but that that is for the Peace of 'the *Kingdom*, and *the Liberties of the Subject*, then 'the shame is mine. Now I desire, that you will 'take this into your consideration, if you will, I'le 'withdraw.

President. Sir, this is not altogether new that you

you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court: Sir, you say you do not Decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. 'Not in this that I have said.

President. I understand you well Sir, but nevertheless that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: it is not as you say, *That they will not hear your King*, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the Peoples Charge against you, to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all; Sir, This tends to a further delay: Truly Sir, such delayes as these neither may the Kingdom, nor Justice well bear; You have had three several dayes to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased; This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the Supreme Jurisdiction*; That which you now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction, and a *co-ordinate Jurisdiction*, I know very well you express your self. Sir, That notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here, I did hear you say so; but Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in delay of the Justice here; so as if this Court be resolved, and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in justice to grant; but Sir, according to that you seem to desire, and because you shall know the further pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

King. 'Shall I withdraw?

Preſident. Sir, you ſhall know the pleaſure of Court preſently, the Court withdraws for half an hour into the *Court of Wards*.

Serjeant at Arms: The Court gives command that the Priſoner be withdrawn, and they give order for his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an hour and returns.

Preſident. Serjeant at Arms, ſend for your priſoner.

Sir, You were pleaſed to make a motion here to the Court, to offer a deſire of yours touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords in the *Painted Chamber* for the Peace of the Kingdom: Sir, you did in effect receive an anſwer before the Court adjourned; Truly Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have conſidered of what you have moved, and have conſidered of their own Authority, which is founded (as hath been often ſaid) upon the *Supreme Authority of the Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*, The Court acts accordingly to their Commiſſion: Sir, the return I have to you from the Court, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occaſioned ſome little further delay, and they are JUDGES appointed by the higheſt JUDGES, and *Judges* are no more to delay, than they are to deny juſtice: they are good words in the old Charter of *England*, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus Juſtitiam.* There muſt be no delay; but the truth is, Sir, and ſo every man here obſerves it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might have long ſince proceeded, to judgment againſt you,

you, and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to punishment, and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous resolution.

King. 'Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute, 'I am no *Sceptick* for to deny the power that you 'have, I know that you have power enough; Sir, I 'confess I think it would have been for the Kingdoms peace, if you would have taken the pains 'for to have shown the lawfulness of your power; 'for this delay that I have desired, I confess it is a 'delay, but it is a delay very important for the 'peace of the Kingdom, for it is not my Person 'that I look on alone, it is the Kingdoms welfare, 'and the Kingdoms peace: it is an old sentence, '*That we should think on long, before we have resolved of great matters suddenly*; Therefore, Sir, I do say again, that I do put at your doors all the inconvenience of an hasty Sentence; I confess, I have 'been here now I think this week, this day eight 'daies, was the day I came here first, but a little 'delay of a day or two further, may give peace, 'whereas an *Hasty Judgment* may bring on that 'trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent 'it; and therefore again out of the Duty I owe to 'God, and to my Countrey, I do desire that I may 'be heard by the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, or any other Chamber that you will 'appoint me.

President. Sir, you have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the Resolution and the Judgement of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for Your self, than you have said, before they proceed to Sentence.

King.

King. 'I say this Sir, That if you will hear me, if 'you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but 'I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and 'to my people after that, and therefore I do require 'you, as you will Answer it at the dreadfull day of 'judgment, that you will consider it once again.

President. Sir, I have received direction from the Court,

King. 'Well Sir.

President. If this must be re-inforc'd, or any thing of this nature, your answer must be the same, and they will proceed to Sentence if you have nothing more to say.

King. 'I have nothing more to say, but I shall 'desire that this may be entred what I have said.

President. The Court then Sir, hath something to say unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

Sir, you speak very well of a precious thing that you call Peace, and it had been much to be wished that God had put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really endeavoured and studied the Peace of the Kingdom, as now in words you seem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, *Actions must expound Intentions*, yet Actions have been clean contrary; and truly Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneous principles; the Kingdom hath felt it to their smart, and it will be no ease to you to think of it; for Sir, you have held your self, and let fall such Language, as if you had been no wayes subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your Superiour: Sir, the Court is very well sensible of it, and I hope so are all the understanding people of *England*, *That the Law is your Superiour*:

That

That you ought to have ruled according to the Law, you ought to have done ſo Sir: I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done ſo, but Sir, the difference hath been, who ſhall be the *Expoſitors of this Law*; Sir, whether you and your party out of Courts of Juſtice, ſhall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Juſtice*, who are the Expounders; nay, the Soveraign and *the High Court of Juſtice*, the *Parliament of England*, who are not onely *the higheſt Expounders*, but *the ſole Makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to ſet your ſelf with your ſingle judgment, and thoſe that adhere unto you, againſt *the higheſt Court of Juſtice, that is not Law*: Sir, as the Law is your ſuperiour, ſo truly Sir, there is ſomething that is ſuperior to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or Author* of the Law, and that is *the People of England*. For Sir, as they are thoſe that at the firſt, (as other Countreys have done) did chuſe to themſelves this *Form of Government*, even for Juſtice ſake, that Juſtice might be adminiſtred, that Peace might be preſerved; ſo Sir, they gave Laws to their Governors, according to which they ſhould govern; and if thoſe Laws ſhould have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the publick, they had a power in them, and reſerved to themſelves, to alter as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Sir, it is very true, what ſome of your ſide have ſaid, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*; This Court will ſay the ſame while *King, That you have not your Peer* in ſome ſence, for you are *Major ſingulis*, but they will averr again, that you are *Minor univerſis*; and the ſame Author tells you, that *in exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but are *quaſi minimus*.

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet ſuperiorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & Curiam*, and ſo ſays the ſame

same Author; and truly Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frænum, They ought to bridle him*; and Sir, we know very well the stories of old; Those Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did stand out *for the Liberty and Property of the Subject*, and would not suffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants here, but called them to account for it, we know that truth, That they did *frænum ponere*: But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not so mindful of their own honour and the Kingdoms good, certainly the *Commons* of *England* will not be unmindful of what is for their preservation, and for their safety: *Justitiæ fruendi causa Reges constituti sunt*. This we learn is the end of having Kings, or any other Governours, it's for the enjoying of Justice, that's the end. Now Sir, if so be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he must understand that he is but an Officer of trust, and he ought to discharge that trust, and they are to take order for the animadversion and punishment of such an offending Governour.

This is not Law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your People,) but it is Law of old; And we know very well the *Authors* and *Authorities* that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the Election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto their People, and if they did not observe it, there weere those things called Parliaments; The *Parliaments* were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*) *the plaints and wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their Children*; *such wrongs especially, when the People could have no where else any remedy*. Sir, that hath been the People of *Englands* case, they could not have their remedy elsewhere but in *Parliament*. A

Sir,

Sir, *Parliaments* were ordained for that purpose, to redress the grievances of the People, that was their main end; and truly Sir, if so be that the Kings of *England* had been rightly mindful of themselves, they were never more in *Majesty and State*, than in the *Parliament*: but how forgetfull some have been, *Histories* have told us; We have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it. Sir, by the old Laws of *England*, (I speak these things the rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought you had as much knowledge in the Law, as most Gentlemen in *England*; it is very well Sir. And truly Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of *England* to understand that Law under which they must live, and by which they must be governed. And then Sir, the *Scripture* says, *They that know their Masters Will and do it not*, what follows. The Law is your Master, the Acts of *Parliaments*.) the *Parliaments* were to be kept anciently, we find in our *Author*, twice in the year, *That the Subject upon any occasion, might have a ready remedy and redresse for his Grievance*. Afterwards, by several Acts of *Parliament* in the dayes of your Predecessor *Edward* the third, they must have been once a year. Sir, what intermission of PARLIAMENTS hath been in your time, it is very well known, and the sad consequences of it, and what in the interim instead of these Parliaments, hath been by you, by an high and *Arbitrary* hand introduced upon the People, that likewise hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had so brought it about, that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament; Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were against the Ancient, and your Native Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Parliament*,

ment of *England*, not ſerving your ends againſt them, you were pleaſed to diſſolve it. Another great neceſſity occaſioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your deſigns and plots and endeavours all along have been for the ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom; And truly Sir, in that you did ſtrike at all; that had been a ſure way to have brought about that that layes upon you, *Your Intention to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land.* For the great bulwark of *Liberty of the People*, is the PARLIAMENT of *England*; and to Subvert and Root up that, which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the Liberties and the Propriety of *England*.

Truly Sir, it makes me call to mind, I cannot forbear to expreſs it, for Sir, we muſt deal plainly with you, according to the merits of your cauſe, ſo is our Commiſſion; it makes me call to mind (theſe proceedings of yours) that we read of a great *Roman Emperor*, by the way let us call him *a great Roman Tyrant*, Caligula, *that wiſht that the People of* Rome *had had but one Neck, that at one blow he might cut it off:* and your proceedings hath been ſomewhat like to this, for the body of the people of *England* hath been (and where elſe repreſented but) in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the neck of *England:* but God hath reſerved better things for us, and hath pleaſed for to Confound your deſigns, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Perſon into Cuſtodie, that you might be reſponſible to Juſtice.

Sir, we know very well, That it is a queſtion on your ſide very much Preſs'd, *By what preſident we*

ſhall

shall proceed? Truly Sir, for *Presidents*, I shall not at this present make any long discourse, but it is no new thing to cite *Presidents* almost of all *Nations*, where the People (when power hath been in their hands) have not sticked to call their Kings to account, and where the change of *Government* hath ensued upon occasions of the *Tyranny and Mis-government* of those that have been placed over them; I will not spend time to mention *France*, or *Spain*, or the Empire, or other Countries, Volumes may be written of them; But truly Sir, that of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, I should think some of us have thought upon it, where they have the Justice of *Arragon*, that is a man *tanquam in medio positus*, betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the people of the Country, that if wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of *Arragon*, the Justice hath power to reform the wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the Kings Superiour, and is the grand preserver of their priviledges, and hath prosecuted Kings upon their miscarriages.

Sir, What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedæmonian State*, we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *English State*; and though *Rome* seem to have lost its *liberty* when once the Emperours were, yet you shall find some famous Acts of Justice even done by the Senate of *Rome*; that great *Tyrant* of his time, *Nero*, condemned and judged by the *Senate*. But truly Sir, to you I should not mention these Forreign examples and stories. If you look but over *Tweed*, we find enough in your native Kingdom of *Scotland*. If we look to your first King *Forgusius*, that your stories make mention of, he was an Elective King, he died, and left two Sons both in their minority, the Kingdom made choice

of

of their Unkle his Brother to govern in the minority; afterwards the Elder Brother giving small hopes to the People that he would rule or govern well, seeking to supplant that good Unkle of his, that governed them justly, they set the Elder aside, and took to the Younger. Sir, if I should come to what your stories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109th King of *Scotland*; for to mention so many Kings as that Kingdom, according to their power and priviledge, have made bold to deal withal, some to banish, and some to imprison, and some to put to death, it would be too long; and as one of your Authors sayes, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own stories make mention of; *Reges* (say they) we do create, we created Kings at first; *Leges*, &c. We imposed Lawes upon them; and as they are chosen by the suffrages of the People at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same suffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to say, that no Kingdom hath yielded more plentiful experience than that your Native Kingdome of *Scotland* hath done, concerning the deposition and the punishment of their offending and transgressing Kings, *&c.*

It is not far to go for an example near you, your Grandmother set aside, and your Father an Infant crowned; and the State did it here in *England*; here hath not been a want of some examples, they have made bold (the Parliament and the People of *England*) to call their Kings to account, there are frequent examples of it in the *Saxons* time, the time before the Conquest; since the Conquest there wants not some Presidents neither; King *Edward* the second, King *Richard* the second, were dealt with so by the Parliament, as they were deposed and de-

deprived: and truly Sir, whoever ſhall look into their ſtories, they ſhall not find the Articles that are charged upon them to come near to that height and capitalneſs of Crimes that are layed to your charge, nothing near.

Sir, you were pleaſed to ſay the other day, wherein they deſcend, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether: Sir, if you were as the Charge ſpeaks, and no otherwiſe admitted K. of *England*, but for that you were pleaſed then to alledge, how that almoſt for a thouſand years theſe things have been, ſtories will tell you, if you go no higher than the time of the Conqueſt; if you do come down ſince the Conqueſt, you are the 24*th* King from *William* called the Conqueror, you ſhall find one half of them to come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the point of Deſcent; it were caſe to be inſtanced to you, the time muſt not be loſt that way. And truly Sir, what a grave and learned Judge ſaid in his time, and well known to you, is ſince printed for poſterity, *That although there was ſuch a thing as a Deſcent many times, yet the Kings of* England *ever held the greateſt aſſurance of their titles, when it was declared by Parliament:* And Sir, your *Oath*, the manner of your *Coronation* doth ſhew plainly, That the Kings of *England*, and though it's true by the Law the next perſon in blood is deſigned; yet if there were juſt cauſe to refuſe him, the people of *England* might do it. For there is a *Contract* and Bargain made between the *King* and his *People*, and your *Oath* is taken, and certainly Sir, the Bond is reciprocal; for as you are the liege Lord, ſo they liege Subjects, and we know very well that hath been ſo much ſpoken of, *Ligantis eſt duplex.* This we know now, the one tye, the one Bond, is the bond of perfection which is due from the Soveraign, the other is the bond of Subjection

jection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this bond be once broken, farewel Soveraignty, *Subjectio trahit*, &c.

These things may not be denyed, Sir; I speak it the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your heart, that you may be sensible of your miscarriages. For whether you have been, as by your Office you ought to be, *a Protector* of England, or *the Destroyer of* England, let all *England* judge, or all the world that hath look'd upon it. Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is spoken of, yet it must not be denyed, that your Office was an Office of Trust, and an Office of the highest trust lodged in any single person: For as you were the grand *Administrator of Justice*, and others were as your *Delegates*, to see it done throughout your Realms, if your great Office were to do Justice, and preserve your People from wrong, and instead of doing that, you will be the *great wrong-doer your self*; If, instead of being a *Conservator of the Peace*, you will be *the Grand Disturber of the Peace*, surely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to your Trust. Now Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you speak of, your Title by *Descent*, let all men know that great Offices are seizable and forfeitable, as if you had it but for a year, and for your life; Therefore Sir, it will concern you to take into your serious consideration your great miscarriages in this kind.

Truly Sir, I shall not particularize the many miscarriages of your Reign whatsoever, they are so famously known, it had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been so much known and so much felt, as the story of your miscarriages must needs be, and hath been already.

Sir

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *higheſt Court*, hath been and is to Trie and Judge you for great offences of *yours*. Sir, the *charge* hath called you *Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Common-wealth of* England. Sir, it had been well if that any of all theſe terms might rightly and juſtly have been ſpared, if any one of them at all.

King. Ha?

Preſident. Truly Sir, we have been told, *Rex eſt dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimet*; and if ſo be that be the definition of a Tyrant, then ſee how you come ſhort of it in your Actions, whether the higheſt Tyrant by that way of Arbitrary Government, and that you have ſought to introduce, and that you have ſought to put, you were putting upon the People, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyrannie as any of your Predeceſſors were guilty of, nay many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term Traytor cannot be ſpared, we ſhall eaſily agree it muſt denote and ſuppoſe a breach of Truſt, and it muſt ſuppoſe it to be done by a Superiour; and therefore Sir, as the People of *England* might have incurred that reſpecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law; ſo on the other ſide, when you did break your Truſt to the Kingdom, you did break your Truſt to your Superior: For the Kingdom is that for which you were truſted: And therefore Sir, for this breach of Truſt, when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And Sir, the *People of England* cannot be ſo far wanting to themſelves, which God having dealt ſo miraculouſly and gloriouſly for, they having power in their hands, and their great Enemy, they muſt proceed

to

to do Juſtice to themſelves and to you: For, Sir, the Court could heartily deſire, That you would lay your hand upon your heart, and conſider what you have done amiſs: That you would endeavour to make your peace with God. Truly Sir, Theſe are your high crimes, Tyranny and Treaſon.

There is a third thing too, if thoſe had not been, and that is Murther, which is laid to your charge. All the bloody Murthers that have been committed ſince this time that the Diviſion was betwixt you and your People, muſt be laid to your charge, that have been acted or committed in theſe late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying ſin; and truly Sir, if any man will ask us what puniſhment is due to a Murtherer, Let Gods Law, let Mans Law ſpeak. Sir, I will preſume that you are ſo well read in Scripture, as to know what God himſelf hath ſaid concerning *the ſhedding of Mans blood: Gen. 9. Num.* 35. will tell you what the puniſhment is, and which this Court in behalf of the Kingdom are ſenſible of, of that innocent blood that has been ſhed, whereby indeed the Land ſtands ſtill defiled with that blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleanſed, but with the ſhedding of the blood of him that ſhed this blood.* Sir, we know no Diſpenſation from this blood in that Commandement, *Thou ſhalt do no Murder*; we do not know but that it extends to Kings, as well as to the meaneſt Peaſants, the meaneſt of the People, the command is nniverſal. Sir, Gods Law forbids it, Mans Law forbids it, nor do we know that there is any manner of exception, nor even in mans Laws, for the puniſhment of Murther in you. 'Tis true, that in the caſe of Kings every private hand was not to put forth it ſelf to this work for their Reformation and puniſhment. But Sir, the People repreſented having power in their hands,

hands, had there been but one wilful act of Murther by you committed, had power to have convented you, and to have puniſhed you for it.

But then Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all thoſe reſpects that have been ſpoken, by reaſon of your *Tyranny*, *Treaſon*, *breach of Truſt*, and the *Murthers* that have been committed, ſurely Sir, it muſt drive you into a ſad conſideration concerning your eternal condition: As I ſaid at firſt, I know it cannot be pleaſing to you to hear any ſuch things as theſe are mentioned unto you from this Court, for ſo we do call our ſelves, and juſtifie our ſelves to be a Court, and a *High Court of Juſtice*, authorized by the higheſt and ſolemneſt Court of the Kingdom, as we have often ſaid; and although you do yet endeavour what you may to diſ-court us, yet we do take knowledge of our ſelves to be ſuch a Court as can adminiſter Juſtice to you; and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I ſhall ſay before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this; the Court does heartily deſire, that you will ſeriouſly think of thoſe evils that you ſtand guilty of. Sir, you ſaid well to us the other day, you wiſht us to have God before our eyes; Truly Sir, I hope all of us have ſo, that God that we know is a *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, that God with whom there is no reſpect of perſons, that God that is the avenger of innocent blood, we have that God before us, that God that does beſtow a Curſe upon them that withhold their hands from ſhedding of blood, which is the caſe of guilty Malefactors, and that do deſerve death; That God we have before our eyes, and were it not that the conſcience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this imploy-

imployment, Sir, you ſhould have had no appearance of a Court here: but Sir, we muſt prefer the diſcharge of our duty unto God, and unto the Kingdom, before any other reſpect whatſoever: and although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are ſeverely threatned by ſome of your party, what they intend to do. Sir, we do here declare, that we ſhall not decline, or forbear the doing of our duty in the adminiſtration of Juſtice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God ſhould permit thoſe men to effect all that bloody deſign in hand againſt us. Sir, we will ſay, and we will declare it, as thoſe Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worſhip the golden Image that *Nebuchadnezzar* had ſet up, *That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were now unto*; but yet if he would not do it, yet, notwithſtanding that, they would not fall down and worſhip the Image: we ſhall thus apply it; That though we ſhould not be delivered from thoſe bloody hands and hearts that conſpire the overthrow of the Kingdom in general, of us in particular, for acting in this great work of Juſtice, though we ſhould periſh in the work, yet by Gods grace, and by Gods ſtrength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Reſolutions. Sir, I ſay for your ſelf, we do heartily wiſh and deſire, that God would be pleaſed to give you a ſence of your ſins, that you would ſee wherein you have done amiſs, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from blood-guiltineſs. A good King was once guilty of that particular thing, and was clear otherwiſe, ſaving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly Sir, the Story tells us, that he was a repentant King, and it ſignifies enough

enough that he had dyed for it, but that God was pleased to accept of him, and to give him his pardon: *Thou shalt not dye, but the Child shall dye, thou hast given cause to the enemies of God to blaspheme.*

King. 'I would desire only one word before you 'give sentence, and that is, That you would hear me 'concerning those great imputations that you have 'laid to my charge.

President. Sir, you must give me leave to go on, for I am not far from your *Sentence*, and your time is now past.

King. 'But I shall desire you will hear me a few 'words to you, for truly whatever *Sentence* you will 'put upon me, in respect of those heavy *imputations* 'I see by your speech you have put upon me, that I, 'Sir, it is very true that ———

President. Sir, I must put you in mind, Truly Sir, I would not willingly at this time, especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of; but Sir, you have not owned us a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of people met together, and we know what Language we receive from your party.

King. 'I know nothing of that.

Pres. You disavow us as a *Court*, and therefore for you to address your self to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what You say, it is not to be permitted; and the *truth* is, all along from the first time, You were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard You one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak: *Sir*, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we should hear You freely, and we should not have declined to

have heard You at large, what you could have ſaid or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excuſing or for in part excuſing thoſe great and heinous *charges* that in whole or in part are laid upon You. But Sir, I ſhall trouble You no longer, Your ſins are ſo large a dimenſion, that if you do but ſeriouſly think of them they will drive you to a ſad conſideration, they may improve in you a ſad and ſerious repentance. And that the *Court* doth heartily wiſh, that You may be ſo penitent for what You have done amiſs, that God may have mercy at leaſtwiſe upon your better part. Truly Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that that the Law preſcribes, we are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*; We cannot be unmindful of what the Scriptures tell us, For *to acquit the guilty is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent*; we may not acquit the guilty; what Sentence the Law affirms to a Traitor, Tyrant, a Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Countrey, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court

The Lord *Preſident* commands the Sentence to be read. Make an O Yes, and command ſilence while the Sentence is read.

O Yes made, ſilence commanded.

The Clerk read the Sentence, which was drawn up in parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England *in* Parliament *have appointed them an high Court of Juſtice for the Trying of* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *before whom he had been three times convented, and at firſt time a charge of high Treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of* England, *&c.*

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, He the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his An-

Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to do, and ſo expreſt the ſeveral paſſages at his Tryal in refuſing to anſwer.

For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the ſaid Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publique Enemy, ſhall be put to Death, by the ſevering his Head from his Body.*

After the Sentence read, the Lord *Preſident* ſaid,

This Sentence now read and publiſhed, it is the *Act, Sentence, Judgment,* and Reſolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court ſtood up, and aſſenting to what the *Preſident* ſaid.

King. 'Will you hear me a word Sir?

Preſident. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. 'No Sir?

Preſident. No Sir, by your favour Sir: Guard withdraw your Priſoner.

King. 'I may ſpeak after the *ſentence*———

'By your favour Sir, I may ſpeak after the *ſentence* 'ever.

By your favour (hold) the *ſentence* Sir———

'I ſay Sir, I do———

'I am not ſuffered for to ſpeak, expect what Juſtice 'other people will have.

O Yes, All manner of perſons that have any thing elſe to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it ſelf.

Then the Court roſe, and the King went with his Guard to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and from thence to *White-Hall*.

The Names of thoſe Perſons that were preſent at the Sentencing of the KING to Death.

John Bradſhaw Preſident.
John Liſle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwel,
Henry Ireton,
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*,
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harriſon,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,
Iſaac Ewers,
Lord *Gray* of Groby,
Sir *John Danvers* Knight,
Sir *Thomas Maleverer* Bar.
Sir *John Boutchier* Knight.
William Heveningham,
Alderman *Pennington*,
William Purefoy,
Henry Martin,
John Barkſtead,
John Blakiſton,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir *William Conſtable* Bar.
Edmond Ludlow,
John Hutchinſon,
Sir *Mich Liveſay* Bar.
Robert Tichborn,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Richard Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewſon,
William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carew,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allin,
Peregrine Pelham,
John Moore,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Woogan,
Sir *Gregory Norton* Knight.
Edmond Harvy,
John Venn,
Thomas Scot,
Tho. Andrews Alderman,
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapley,
John Downes,

Thomas

Thomas Horton,	*George Fleetwood,*
Thomas Hammond,	*Symon Meyne,*
Nicholas Love,	*James Temple,*
Vincent Potter,	*Peter Temple,*
Auguſtine Garland,	*Daniel Blagrave,*
John Dixwel,	*Thomas Waite.*

'Ordered that Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Coll. *Harriſon*, Com. General *Ireton*, Coll. *Dean*, and Coll. *Okey*, are appointed a Committee to conſider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the King, according to his Sentence given by the high Court of Juſtice.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29. 1648.

Upon report made from the Committee for conſidering of the Time and Place of the Executing of the Judgement againſt the King: that the ſaid Committee have reſolved that the open Street before *White-hall* is a fit place; And that the ſaid Committee conceive it fit, that the King be there Executed the morrow, the King having already notice thereof; The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpoſe, which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto; and ordered to be ingroſſed, which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth.

At the High Court of Juſtice for the Trying and Judging of *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, January 29, 1648.

WHereas Charles Stuart *King of* England, *is, and ſtandeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of high Treaſon, and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday laſt was pronounced againſt*

him by this Court, to be put to death by the ſevering of his head from his body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done: Theſe are therefore to will and require you to ſee the ſaid Sentence Executed in the open ſtreet before White-Hall, *upon the morrow, being the* 30*th day of this inſtant month of* January, *between the hours of Ten in the morning, and Five in the afternoon of the ſame day, with full effect; And for ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this* Nation *of* England, *to be aſſiſting unto you in this ſervice.*

Given under our Hands and Seals.

To Coll. *Francis Hacker*, Coll. *Huncks*, and Lieuten. Coll. *Phray, and to every of them:*

Sealed and ſubſcribed by

J. Bradſhaw, O. Cromwell, Hen. Ireton, Har. Waller, Jo. Liſle, Val. Walton, Tho. Gray, Ed. Whaley, Mich. Liveſey, Jo. Okey, Jo. Danvers, Tho. Maleverer, Wil. Goffe, Tho. Pride, Tho. Harriſon, Jo. Hewſon, Ri. Dean, Robert Tichborn, Ow. Roe, Jo. Barkſtead, G. Fleetwood, Gil. Milington, Tho. Horton, W. Say, W. Conſtable, Miles Corbet, Jo. Ven, Hen. Martin, &c.

Painted Chamber. *Jan.* 30. 1648.

The Commiſſioners met, and ordered, That Mr. *Marſhall*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryll*, Mr. *Salway*, and Mr. *Dell*, be deſired to attend the King, to adminiſter to him thoſe Spiritual helps as ſhould be ſuitable to his preſent condition, and Lieutenant Collonel *Goffe* is deſired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpoſe.

Who did ſo, but after informed the Court, That the King being acquainted therewith, refuſed to confer with them, expreſſing that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered,

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with Black.

The Warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to those parties to whom the same was directed, Execution was done upon him according to the tenour of the Warrant about two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the said 30. of *January*.

After Sentence, The King being hurried from their Bar, as he passed down the stairs, the common Souldiers (laying aside all Reverence to Soveraignty) scoffed at him, casting the smoak of their stinking Tobacco in his face (no *Smell* more offensive to him) and flinging their foul pipes at his feet; But one more insolent than the rest, defiled his venerable Face with his spittle, for his Majesty was observed with much patience to wipe it off with his Handkerchief, and as he passed, hearing them cry out Justice, Justice, *Poor soul* (said he) *for a piece if money, they would doe so for their Commanders.* That Night being Saturday, *January* 27. the King lodged at *White-Hall*; that evening a Member of the Army (acquainted the Committee) with the desires of the King, that seeing they had passed Sentence of Death upon him, and the time of his Execution might be nigh, that he might see his Children, and receive the Sacrament, and that Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, might be admitted to pray with him in his private Chamber; both which were granted.

The next day, being Sunday, *January* 28. the King was attended by his Guard, to Saint *James's*, where the Bishop of *London* preached privately before him; his Text was in *Rom.* 2. 16. *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.*

Monday *Jan.* 29. His Children were permitted to come to him, where paſſed this following Diſcourſe, as it was ſet down in writing by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* (which Lady *Elizabeth* ſome months after, being confined to *Carisbrough-Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Wight*, died there with grief for the ſufferings of her Dear Father.)

'His Children being come to meet him, He firſt 'gave his Bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bad 'her to remember to tell her Brother *James*, when-'ever ſhe ſhould ſee him, that it was his Fathers 'laſt deſire that he ſhould no more look upon '*Charles* as his eldeſt Brother only, but be obedient 'unto him as his Soveraign; and that they ſhould 'love one another, and forgive their Fathers Ene-'mies. Then ſaid the King to her, Sweet-heart 'you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall never for-'get it whileſt I live; and pouring forth abundance 'of tears, promiſed him to write down the parti-'culars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon his knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head (upon which words the Child looking very ſtedfaſtly on him,) Mark child what I ſay, They will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, you muſt not be a King, ſo long as your brothers, *Charles* and *James*, do live; for they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at laſt: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the child ſighing ſaid, I will be torn in pieces firſt: which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Tueſday Jan. 30. (The Fatal Day) He was about Ten of the Clock brought from his Pallace at Saint *James's*

James's to *White-Hall*, marched on foot (guarded with a Regiment of foot Souldiers) through the Park, with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of Partizans about him, Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* on one ſide, and Collon. *Tomlinſon* on the other, both bare-headed, bidding them go faſter, ſaying *That he now went before them to ſtrive for an heavenly Crown with leſs ſolicitude, than he had oftentimes bid his Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.* Being come to the end of the Park, he aſcends the Stairs leading to the long Gallery in *White-Hall*, and ſo into the *Cabinet Chamber*, where he formerly uſed to Lodge; there his Majeſty with the Biſhop of *London* continued for ſome time in Devotion, and received the bleſſed Sacrament from the hand of the ſaid Biſhop; at which time he read for the ſecond Leſſon, the 27. Chapter of Saint *Matthews* Goſpel, which contained the Hiſtory of the Death and Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour; the Communion ended, his Majeſty thanked the Biſhop for ſelecting ſo ſeaſonable and comfortable a portion of Scripture. The Biſhop modeſtly replied, No thanks were due to him, for it was the Chapter appointed by the *Rubrick* of the Church for the ſecond morning Leſſon for that day being *Jan.* 30. Here the King continued at his Devotion, refuſing to dine, onely about Twelve of the Clock, he eat a bit of bread, and drank a Glaſs of Claret, from thence about one a Clock he was accompanied by Dr. *Juxon* and Coll. *Thomlinſon*, and other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans, with Muſketeers on each ſide, through the Banquetting-houſe, adjoyning to which the Scaffold was erected, between *White-hall* Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from Saint *James*'s: The

Scaffold was hung round with Black, the Floor covered with black Bayes, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot of Collonel *Prides* Regiment, and ſeveral Troops of Horſe placed on the one ſide of the Scaffold toward *Kings-ſtreet*, and on the other ſide toward *Charing-Croſs*, and the multitudes of people that came to be Spectators very great. The King being come upon the Scaffold, it was expected he would ſay ſomewhat to the people, the which he did.

But becauſe we have no other Relation of what his Majeſty then ſpake, ſave what was taken in ſhort hand on the Scaffold by three ſeveral Gentlemen, who were very exquiſite in that Art; nor had his Majeſty any Copy (being ſurprized and haſtened by thoſe who attended him to the Scaffold,) ſave only a few heads in a little ſcrip of Paper, which after his death, the Souldiers took from the Biſhop of London, *to whom he gave it: Therefore the Reader muſt be content with this Copy, which was by them upon joynt comparing of their Copies publiſhed, ſome few words being altered to make the ſence perfect.*

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horſe, ſo that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purpoſed to have ſpoken to them (as 'tis thought) and turning himſelf to the Soldiers and Officers (the Inſtruments of the Regicide) ſpake to them to this effect:

The

The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earneſtly upon the Block, and asked Coll. Hacker *if there were no higher: and then ſpake thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Coll.* Thomlinſon. *)*

King. 'I Shall be very little heard of any body 'here, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word 'unto you here: indeed I could hold my peace 'very well, if I did not think that holding my 'peace would make ſome men think, that I did 'ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſh-'ment; but I think it is my duty to God firſt, 'and to my Country, for to clear my ſelf both 'as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chri-'ſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my *Innocency*; In 'troth, I think it not very needful for me to in-'ſiſt long upon this, for all the world knows 'that I never did begin a War with the two 'houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſs, 'to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, 'That I never did intend for to encroach upon 'their Priviledges, they began upon me; it is the 'Militia they began upon, they confeſt that the '*Militia* was mine, but they thought it fit for 'to have it from me: and to be ſhort, if any 'body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, 'of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to 'the Declarations, will ſee clearly that they 'began theſe unhappy troubles, not I: ſo that 'as to the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are 'laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will 'clear me of; I will not, I am in charity: God for-

'forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of either, 'I hope they are free of this guilt: for I do 'believe that ill inſtruments between them and 'me, has been the chief cauſe of all this blood-'ſhed: ſo that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my 'ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that 'they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that 'I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian as not to ſay that 'Gods judgments are juſt upon me: Many times 'he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is 'ordinary. I will only ſay this, That unjuſt Sen-'tence * that I ſuffered for to take 'effect, is puniſhed now by an unjuſt 'Sentence upon me: So far I have 'ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an Innocent man.

* *Strafford.*

'Now for to ſhew you that I am a good 'Chriſtian: I hope there is (* *Pointing to Dr. 'Juxon,*) a good man that will bear me witneſs, 'That I have forgiven all the world, and even 'thoſe in particular that have been the chief 'cauſers of my death; who they are, God knows, 'I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive 'them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go 'further, I wiſh that they may repent, for in-'deed they have committed a great ſin in that 'particular: I pray God with St. *Stephen*, that 'this be not laid to their charge, nay not only 'ſo, but that they may take the right way to 'the peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity 'commands me, not only to forgive particular men, 'but my Charity commands me to 'endeavour to the laſt gaſp the Peace 'of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I do wiſh 'with all my Soul (and I do hope 'there is ſome here * will carry it further)

* *Turning to ſome Gentlemen that were.*

further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

'Now (Sirs) I muſt ſhew you both how you are 'out of the way, and will put you in the way: Firſt, 'you are out of the way, for certainly all the way 'you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, 'is in the way of Conqueſt; certainly this is an ill 'way: for Conqueſt (Sir) in my opinion is never 'juſt, except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for 'matter of wrong, or juſt Title, and then if you goe 'beyond it, the firſt quarrel that you have to it, is it 'that makes it unjuſt at the end that was juſt at firſt: 'But if it be only matter of Conqueſt, then it is a 'great Robbery, as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander*, that 'he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Rob-'ber: and ſo, Sir, I doe think the way that you are 'in, is much out of the way. Now, Sir, for to put 'you in one way, believe it, you will never do right, 'nor God will never proſper you, until you give 'God his due, the King his due (that is, my Suc-'ceſſors) and the People their due: I am as much 'for them as any of you: You muſt give God his 'due, by regulating rightly his Church, (according 'to his Scriptures) which is now out of order: For 'to ſet you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but 'only this, *A National Synod freely called*, freely de-'bating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this; when 'that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

'For the King, indeed I will not-- *(Then turning to 'a Gentleman that touched the Ax, ſaid,* 'Hurt not the Ax, that may hurt * *Meaning if* '* me.) For the King, the Laws of *he did blunt* 'their Land will clearly inſtruct you *the edge.* 'for that; therefore, becauſe it con-'cerns my own particular, I only give you a touch 'of it.

'For

'For the people: and truly I desire their Liberty 'and freedom as much as any body whosoever; but 'I must tell you, that their Liberty and freedom 'consists in having of Government, those Laws by 'which their Life and their Goods may be most 'their own. It is not for having share in Govern-'ment, (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them: A 'Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things, 'and therefore until they do that, I mean, That you 'do put the people in that Liberty, as I say, certain-'ly they will never enjoy themselves.

'Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If 'I would have given way to an Arbitrarie way, for 'to have all Laws changed according to the power 'of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and 'therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid 'to your charge) that *I am the Martyr of the people.*

'Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, 'for I will onely say this to you, that in truth I 'could have desired some little time longer, be-'cause I would have put this that I have said in a 'little more order, and a little better digested than 'I have done, and therefore I hope you will ex-'cuse me.

'I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God that 'you doe take those courses that are best for the 'good of the Kingdom, and your own salva-'tions.

Dr. Juxon. *Will your Majesty (though it may be very well known, your Majesties affections to Religion, yet it may be expected that you should) say somewhat for the worlds satisfaction.*

King. 'I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for 'that I had almost forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Con-'science in Religion I think is very well known to 'all the world, and therefore I declare before you

'all,

'all; That I die a Chriſtian, according to the profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as I found it left 'me by my Father, and this honeſt man * I think will witneſs it. *Then turning to the Officers ſaid*, Sirs, excuſe me for this 'ſame, I have a good cauſe, and I have a 'gracious God, I will ſay no more. *Then turning 'to Colonel* Hacker, *he ſaid*; Take care they doe not 'put me to pain, and Sir, this, and it pleaſe you. *But 'then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid*, 'Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. *Then 'the King ſpeaking to the Executioner, ſaid*, I ſhall ſay 'but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my 'hands----------

* *Pointing to Dr.* Juxon.

Then the King called to Doctor *Juxon* for his Night-cap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my hair trouble you?* who deſired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Biſhop: then the King turning to Doctor *Juxon*, ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe, and a gracious God on my ſide.*

Doctor *Juxon*. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world.*

Doctor *Juxon*. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then ſaid to the Executioner, Is my hair well? Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor *Juxon*, ſaying,

ing, Remember (**It is thought for to give it to the Prince.*) Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Waſtcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looking upon the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

Executioner. It is faſt, Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way, ſtretching them out, then*----------

After that, having ſaid two or three words (as he ſtood) to himſelf, with hands and eyes lift up; Immediately ſtooping down, laid his Neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his hair under his Cap, the King ſaid (thinking he had been going to ſtrike) Stay for the ſign.

Executioner. Yes, I will and it pleaſe your Majeſty.

And after a very little pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body: The head being off, the Executioner held it up, and ſhewed it to the people; which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpoſe, and conveyed into his Lodgings there: And from thence it was carried to his houſe at Saint *James's*, where his body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, laid there a fortnight to be ſeen by the people; and on the Wedneſday ſevennight after, his Corps embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers, Captain *Preſton*, and *John Joyner*, former Cook to his Majeſty; they attended with others, cloathed in Mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Herſe that night to *Windſor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-chamber; next day it was removed into the *Deans Hall*, which Room was hanged with black, and made dark;

Lights

Lights burning round the Herſe, in which it remained till Three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Lyndſey*, having obtained an order from the Parliament, for the decent Interment of the King their Royal Maſter, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds: At their coming into the Caſtle, they ſhewed their Order of Parliament to Collonel *Wichcot* Governour of the Caſtle, deſiring the Interment might be in St. *Georges* Chappel, and by the Form in the Common-Prayer Book of the Church of *England*; this requeſt was by the Governour denyed, ſaying, It was improbable that the Parliament would permit the uſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act. To which the Lords replyed, There is a difference betwixt deſtroying their own Act, and diſpenſing with it, and that no Power ſo binds its own hands, as to diſable it ſelf in ſome caſes: All could not prevail, the Governour perſiſting in the Negative, the Lords betook themſelves to the ſearch of a convenient place for the Burial of the Corps; the which after ſome pains taking therein, they diſcover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lyeth the body of King *Henry* the Eighth, and his beloved Wife the Lady *Jane Seamor*, both in Coffins of Lead; in this Vault, there being Room for one more, they reſolve to inter the body of the King, the which was accordingly brought to the place, born by the Officers of the Garriſon, the four Corners of the Velvet Pall born up by the aforeſaid four Lords, the pious Biſhop of *London* following next, and other Perſons of Quality; the Body was committed to the earth with ſighs and tears, eſpecially of the Reverend

Biſhop

Biſhop, to be denyed to do the laſt Duty and Service to his Dear and Royal Maſter; the Velvet Pall being caſt into the Vault was laid over the Body, upon the Coffin was theſe words ſet,

KING CHARLES 1648.

After the *Regicides* had committed this Horrid and nefarious Act, the prevailing Power conſiſting of a patcht number of the Houſe of Commons, and the chief Officers of the Army, combined together, and ſeeing how ſucceſsfully and unoppoſed they had effected this, ſo unparalel'd a Deed, to which they knew the generality of the Nation were utterly averſe, and as far as they durſt, ſhew'd their abſolute diſlike; They in the next place fall upon the alteration of the Government, thinking to make ſure work by ſubverting the Ancient Monarchy of this Realm, and inſtead thereof introducing that which they called a *Free State, or Common-wealth.* For conſtituting of which the firſt thing they did, was to Vote and publiſh by Proclamation, *That whereas ſeveral pretences might be made to the Crown,* &c. *to the apparent hazard of the publick Peace, no Perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to proclaim or any way promote* Charles Stuart, *Son of the ſaid* Charles *late King of* England, *or any other perſon to be King or chief Magiſtrate,* &c. *by colour of Inheritance, or any other claim whatſoever, without the free Conſent of the People in* Parliament; firſt *ſignified by a particular Act for that purpoſe, any Law or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding; and whoſoever ſhould contrary to this Order proclaim,* &c. *ſhall be adjudged a Traytor, and ſuffer accordingly.*

This proceeding was founded upon a Maxim which they had taken up, and agreed on among themſelves, namely, *That all Power and Authority is Originally in the People:* But well knowing that their Coun-

Councils had ſoon been confounded, and themſelves interrupted in the courſe they had begun, if they had incorporated again with thoſe of their Members which had been forcibly kept out by the Army, they Reſolve and decree, 1. *That all thoſe Members who had aſſented to the Vote of* Decemb. 5. *concerning the Kings Conceſſions* (for that was the occaſion of their ſeclu ſon) *ſhould never be readmitted, and that thoſe that Voted in the Negative, ſhould preſently enter their ſaid diſſent, or before they were to be admitted.*

And together with the fortune of Monarchy was involved that of the *Houſe of Peers*, who having ſent to deſire a Conference about ſetling the Government, in regard the Judges Commiſſions were determined by the Kings Death, inſtead of an Anſwer to their Meſſage, the *Junto* of the Commons upon debate Voted, the Lords Houſe to be *uſeleſs and dangerous*, and therefore to be laid aſide, as in like manner they declared the Kingly Office to be *unneceſſary* and *Burthenſom*, and therefore fit to be aboliſhed; only they allowed the Lords the Priviledge of being capable to be choſen Burgeſſes into the Houſe of Commons; But the Lords were ſo highly incenſed thereat, that there was ſuddenly publiſhed a Declaration in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm, wherein they proteſt againſt the Proceedings of the Commons. And a while after ſome of the Kings friends in deſpite of all Votes, Acts, and Orders to the contrary, promoted a Proclamation, in the name of all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Kingdom, for proclaiming *Charles* our preſent Soveraign to be King of *England*.

But little could unarmed Declarations prevail againſt the reigning Power of an Armed faction, who now aſſumed new Enſigns of Soveraignty, cancelling the Old, and cauſed all Writs, Commiſſions, and In-

Inſtruments of publick Concernment, to be iſſued out under a new Stile and Teſt, that is of, *The Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Parliament.* They ordered the old Great Seal to be broken, and a new one to be made, with the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* on one ſide, and this Inſcription, *The Great Seal of* England; and on the other ſide the Houſe of Commons with this Inſcription, *In the firſt Year of Freedom by Gods bleſſing reſtored*, 1648. and appointed the Money to bear the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this *Motto, God with us*; and the Great Seal was intruſted with three Commiſſioners: They likewiſe cauſed the Kings Arms to be pulled down every where, and the Kings Picture in the *Old Exchange* they cauſed to be defaced, and the following Inſcription to be be ſet behind it in Golden Letters: *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ Reſtitutæ Primo, Anno* 1648. *Jan.* 30.

They next proceed to erect another Illegal High Court of Juſtice, wherein they brought to Tryall D. *Hamilton* taken at the fight at *Preſton*, the E. of *Holland* at *Kingſton* Fight, and the L. *Capell* and L. *Goring* taken at the Seige of *Colcheſter*; The three firſt were Condemned and beheaded at the *Palace-yard* at *Weſtminſter*; After this the L. *Fairfax* having laid down his Commiſſion, the Parliament made *Oliver Cromwell* their General, who a while after was ſent into *Ireland*, where he proved very ſucceſsfull.

His Majeſty was now in *France*, and hoped to get aid there, but found none; but the *Junto* proceeded to make Sale of the King and Queens Lands, and made a formal Act for aboliſhing Kingly Government and diſinheriting the Royal Iſſue, and ſeting up a *Republick or Free State*; This Act Alderman *Reynardſon* was commanded to proclaim in the City, which he refuſing, was committed to the *Tower*, with three Aldermen

dermen more; and a new Lord Maior was choſen by a *Common-Hall*, who attended with ſeveral other Aldermen as complyant as himſelf, readily obeyed the Commands of his Maſters, and proclaimed their Edict in ſeveral places of the City.

A while after, His Majeſty was ſolemnly Proclaimed in *Scotland*, and after great debate among them there, they at length agree on ſome Propoſitions to be ſent to the King, who was then in the Iſle of *Jerſey*, and Mr. *Windram* Laird of *Libberton* was appointed Meſſenger; who bringing them to the King, they were ſtiffly debated on each ſide; but at laſt *Breda* in *Holland* was appointed for the place of a ſolemn Treaty, where Commiſſioners from the Eſtates and Kirk met the King, and delivered their Propoſitions: During which Treaty, the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* was ſeized in *Scotland*, and for oppoſing the Kirk Party, was condemned and Executed upon a Gibbet near fifty foot high, with all imaginable Contempt; which His Majeſty having an Account of, was much troubled, and the Treaty had like to have been broken off, but at length through the neceſſity of Affairs was concluded, and being carryed to *Edenburgh*, after much debate it was reſolved, another Meſſage ſhould be ſent to invite the King over; but the Parliament here in *England* having notice of all theſe Proceedings in *Scotland*, prepared an Army thereupon to invade *Scotland*, under the command of their General *Oliver Cromwell*.

About this time General *Blake* their Admiral, took, ſunk and burnt moſt of Prince *Ruperts* Fleet, which was a great damage to the Kings Affairs. And now the King being arrived at *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*, ſome Lords were ſent down to accompany him to *Edenburgh*: As he came along he was entertained with the general Joy of all the People, and at *Aberdeen* he was preſented with 1500 Pounds, which thing was

ill

ill taken by the *Committee of Eſtates*, and *Kirk*; and therefore they ſent an Injunction to prohibit other Places from doing the like; The King being now come to *Edenburgh* was again Proclaimed King, *July* 15. 1650. but his Coronation was deferred by reaſon of the then Troubles, ſince the *Engliſh* Army was upon the Borders, and the *Scots* now began to think how to defend themſelves, and therefore marched under the Command of *Montgomery* and ſet upon the *Engliſh* at *Muſcleborough*, but were worſted by them, and at *Dunbar* the *Engliſh* wholly routed them, taking the paſs there.

At the ſame time the *Scots* were divided among themſelves into three Parties, but the King returning with *Montgomery* to St. *Johnſtans* they were all reconciled, and the King on *Jan.* 1. 1650. was Crowned at *Scone*; and ſoon after ſet up his Standard at *Aberdeen*, reſolving to be himſelf *Generaliſſimo* of the *Scotch* Army; About which time Sir *Hen. Hyde* was beheaded at *London* for his Loyalty; and not long after Captain *Brown Buſhell* received the like Doom, for performing ſome ſignall ſervices to the King; the King began to fortifie *Sterling*, and the *Engliſh* drew near it: and *Cromwell* perceiving he could not draw the *Scots* to a Field Battel, ſuddenly tranſported over *Fyfe* 1600 foot, and four Troops of Horſe, who with the help of *Lambert* and *Okey*, routed the *Scots* under Sir *John Brown*, taking him and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality Priſoners, killing 2000 on the place, and taking about 120 Priſoners; not long after Mr. *Gibbons* and Mr. *Love* were Beheaded on *Tower-hill* upon the diſcovery of a Plot in *England* againſt the *Parliament* by the *Presbyterians*.

The King ſeeing the *Engliſh* prevail ſo faſt, thought it beſt to quit *Scotland*, and ſo Marched for *England*, *July* 30. 1651. which *Cromwell* obſerving, ſent *Lambert* after him with a ſelect Party of Horſe: The Kings Army being now in *England*, the Parliament cauſed numerous Forces to be raiſed in moſt Counties in *England*, and his Majeſty marched on to *Worceſter* and fortified it: In the mean time Maj. General *Lambert* gained the paſs at *Upton*, by a deſperate attempt, in cauſing ſome of his Troopers to ſwim the River on Horſeback, carrying their Piſtols and Holſters in their hands, to ſave them from wet; whereby they put Maj. Gen. *Maſſey* and his men to the Retreat, ſo that the Kings Party was forced to quit the Town, and leave the paſs to the Parliamentarians, who quickly made a Bridge over the River; and *Cromwell* joining with the reſt of the Forces againſt the King, after ſome Sallies out of the Town againſt them, at length the King in the Front of his men, ſallied out of Town on *Sept.* 3. 1651. and ſo valiantly charged *Cromwell's* Life-Guard, that they were forced to retire, till ſeconded by freſh Forces, they put the Kings Party to the Retreat; and the King had his Horſe twice ſhot under him, and not able to rally

rally again, they were forced to fly into the Town, where *Cromwells* Party entered Pell Mell with them, and then the Cry went, *Save the King, Save the King.*

The King seeing all lost, with some of his Nobles and Servants, escaped with much difficulty to a Farmers house in *Staffordshire*, where he disrobed himself, and for want of Scissers had his Hair cut off with a Knife; and so with the Company of one Friend (who brought him Provision towards night) he betook himself to a Wood, where he made an Oak his Palace; the Souldiers hunting about for him, and a thousand Pound promised as a Reward to those that could take him; It is supposed there were about three thousand slain at *Worcester*, and seven hundred taken Prisoners, and not long after the E. of *Derby* who was one of them, was Beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*.

His Majesty through many dangers and difficulties arrived at last safely at *Paris* in *France*; And a while after *Oliver Cromwell*, *April* 20. 1653. Dissolved the long Parliament, which had sate Twelve years, six months and seventeen days. In this year and the next, there were five bloody Engagements at Sea against the *Dutch*, in most of which the *English* were Victorious. *Oliver Cromwell* called another *Junto* this year, which was termed the *Little Parliament*, who sate some short time, and then delivered back their Power to him from whom they had received it; And *December* 16. 1653. *Cromwell* was Sworn Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, &c. And so the Government was now again in a single Person, and in *April* after, the Protector concluded a Peace with the *Dutch*, whose aid and assistance the King had strongly sollicited against him.

His Majesty after this sought a Reconciliation between *France* and *Spain*, and hoping thereby to further his own Interest, he left *France*, and departed for *Germany*, accompanied with his Cousin Prince *Rupert*; about which time *Cromwell* had discovered a Plot in *England* against his Authority, and Collonel *Gerrard* and Mr. *Vowell* suffered for the same at *Tower-Hill*; *Scotland* began likewise to stir again, the Earl of *Glencairn*, *Monro*, and *Middleton* having gotten some Forces together, intended to have prosecured the Kings Cause, but they were routed by General *Monk* and Collonel *Morgan*.

According to the Treaty with *France*, *Cromwell* sent over some Forces to aid the *French* in his Wars against *Flanders*, and the *English* were to have *Dunkirk* in consideration thereof, which upon taking of it was accordingly delivered. In the same year 1656. *Cromwell* by a Parliament garbled to his mind, was installed L. Protector in *Westminster-Hall*: and a while after, another Plot was discovered; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewet*, Mr. *Aston*, and Mr. *Stacy*, suffered Death upon the same Account, the two first being beheaded, and the other Drawn, Hanged and Quartered, being charged to be concerned therein.

Upon

Upon *Sept.* 3. 1658. *O. Cromwell* departed this life in *White-hall*, and lay in State in *Somerset-house* till *Nov.* 23. following, when he was buried with great Pomp in *Westminster Abby*: After whom his Son *Richard* Succeeded, but was soon thrust out of his Protectorship by *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, who with the rest of the Army called the *Long Parliament* again; after which several Gentlemen in *Cheshire*, under the conduct of Sir *George Booth* rose for defence of their Priviledges, but were defeated by *Lambert*; who soon after turned out this *remnant* of the *Long Parliament* again, and erected a Government which they called the *Committee of Safety*. All which Revolutions still advanced the Kings Cause; *Lambert* now Marches *North* as far as *New-Castle* to fight against General *Monk*, but his men were unwilling to engage; and in the mean time the *remainder* of the *Long Parliament* had again gotten together, and dissolved the *Committee of Safety*, and then invited General *Monk* to march with his Army to *London*, which he did accordingly, and was received with Joy, and soon after he procured the Dissolution of that *Long Parliament*; and he calling another upon *April* 25. 1660. who being sate, unanimously Voted the restoration of his Majesty to his Kingdoms, and accordingly upon *May* 29. following the King accompanied with the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, and attended with several Lords and Gentlemen, arrived at *Dover*, where he was met by divers Noble Personages, and among the rest General *Monk*, who was dignified with the George and Garter.

In *October* following, several of the Regicides of the late King were Tryed in the *Old-Baily*, and ten of them Executed at *Charing-Cross*; that is, *Thomas Harrison*, *John Carew*, *Adrian Scroop*, *John Jones*, *Gregory Clement*, *Thomas Scot*, *John Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, *Francis Hacker*, and *Daniel Axtell*.

Mary Princess of *Orange* coming over to Visit the King her Brother, fell sick of the Small Pox and dyed; and in *January* after, one *Vennor* a Wine-cooper, and some others in whom he had infused *Enthusiastick* Principles, put themselves in Arms, and came into the City, but being opposed, they killed 22 of his Majesties Subjects, and about as many of them were slain, and the rest were taken and dispersed; eleven of whom, and *Vennor* their leader, were executed in several places in the City.

In the beginning of the next year Prince *Henry* D. of *Gloucester* dyed, and upon *April* 23. following, being St. *George's* day, His Majesty K. *Charles* the 2. was Crowned at *Westminster*, with great splendor and Solemnity; having the day before made a Magnificent Passage from the *Tower* through the City of *London* (where four curious Pageants were erected,) to *White-hall*. And here we shall conclude this abstract of so many various affairs, wishing all happiness to his Majesty, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion forever.

FINIS.